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INDIAN INFLUENCES

ON THE LITERATURE OF

JAVA AND BALI

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BY

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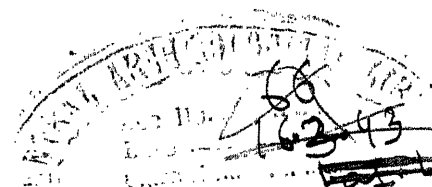
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DEDICATION

iri gurungku sang adhyāpaka

R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D. lawan i sang adhyāpaka

U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.,

pamintona ning kṛtajñatā mwang gorawa.

[To my guru,

Prof. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M. A., Ph. D.

and to

Prof. U. N. GHOSHAL, M. A., Ph. D.

as a token of

gratitude and esteem.]



INTRODUCTION

The time has not arrived for writing a history of Indo-Javanese literature, as much spade-work has yet to be done before one can undertake to present a comprehensive monograph on the subject from the view-point of its inner development. The number of scholars who are engaged in re-discovering its inadequately known language is so poor that the progress of research on the subject has been painfully slow. Still the magnificent labours of scholars like Raffles, Crawfurd, Winter, van Eck, Friederich, van der Tuuk, Kern, C. Stuart, Jonker, Vreede, Juynboll, Hazeu and others have brought together much valuable data, and these are being assessed by the present generation of Dutch and Indonesian scholars. We can now therefore take a tolerably synthetic view of the results thus far obtained of researches on Indo-Javanese literature and bring to one focus the labours of the past, organising at the same time a scheme of general co-operation for the future. In doing this, the first thing necessary is to bring these isolated documents together and present them in relation to the culture-history of the mainland, and this I have attempted to do in the following pages. Until recently, these studies were generally one-sided, being made from the Javanese point of view. This humble work presents, for the first time, the other side of the picture without minimising in the least Java's just share in the complex but interesting Indo-Javanese culture, or exaggerating unduly Indian influences on the same. As very few texts have been published and as the major portion of Mss. is not available outside Batavia and Leiden, I had necessarily to work in a circumscribed sphere. I therefore selected the present subject, in which there is scope for supplementing the researches of Dutch and Indonesian scholars, and have tried to advance, wherever possible, our present stock of knowledge in this particular field after an exhaustive

examination of relevant records available in Dacca and Calcutta. I do not expect however that my judgment will be accepted by all without any dissentient note. A work that practically covers the literature of South-East Asia and makes an excursion into so controversial a field as Old-Javanese is bound to offer many points of attack to critics of different schools. I can only state that I have consciously blown no bubble hypothesis and have always accepted what appeared to me to be the most satisfactory explanations of facts. When they will be found to be inadequate in the light of further researches, I shall not hesitate to discard the views enunciated in this volume.

The most difficult part of my work has been to find out the chronology of Old-Javanese literature, on which the most divergent views are now held with the controversy still raging. I have tried to reconcile the apparently conflicting views of original authorities and have built up my own chronology of Old-Javanese literature after proper evaluation of the arguments of previous writers. On the basis of some synchronisms and other evidence, I have also tried to solve the most vexed problem of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and some other connected works, as on them the Old-Javanese literary chronology depends a great deal. In Chap. IV I have sought to discover a link in the charms of Indo-Mal-Polynesia and have identified some *mantras* with their Indian counterparts. So far only one paper has appeared in German on Indo-Javanese *alaṅkāra* or rhetoric. I have endeavoured, however, to throw further light on some problems of Sanskrit literature with the data derived from Indo-Javanese *alaṅkāra*. As no work has yet been written on the Medical Science of ancient Java, I have sifted the available data in this direction. In the closing portion of Chap. VI I have tried to demonstrate the currency of an unspecified era in Java, and have sought to establish the identity of Yogīśvara, Rājakuśuma and Kusumavicitra. While describing the later *Rāmāyaṇas*, I have traced one *Rāmāyaṇa*-tradition to the early centuries of the Christian era. This has been corroborated by the art-history of Indo-China and

Indonesia. The identification of reliefs in the former case is based upon *les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor Vat* of M. Coedès and *les Bas-reliefs de Bapuon* of M. Finot. I hope also that the present volume will set at rest the 30 years' old problem regarding the source of the *Smaradahana*. Doubts have been raised here about the accepted original sources of some *Kawi*-works, on which the sanction of time has lent its sanctity. I have laid some emphasis on these points just because they are no longer questioned. While in different parts of this volume I have traced particular episodes of *Kawi*-works to Sanskrit literature, I have not also neglected to point out their Javanese features. The latter part of the work dealing with the legends and romances of Java and Bali also opens a virgin field for investigation. These are some of the original features of the present work. Let me hope, however, that the progress of researches on Indo-Javanese literature will be so rapid as to make the present work merely a landmark to be left behind by future investigators. Perhaps it is necessary to state in this connexion that in the three grand divisions of Javanese literature, I have retained the traditional date of the fall of Majapahit, namely, 1478 A.D.,¹ as it coincides with the decline of Old-Javanese literature. In the treatment of the subject, however, I have found it convenient to divide it according to the distinct branches of literature, as the perusal of the following pages will show.

As regards transcription I have generally followed the practice obtaining in the *J. R. A. S.*, though I have thought it advisable to retain Dutch methods of transcription in respect of *Kawi*-passages. Some diacritical marks, not being available in the Press, have been left out. In the spelling of proper names, however, *tj* has been substituted by *c*, *oe* by *u* and *dj* by *j*. *V* also has been generally used for *w*. Some discrepancies in the spelling of Paurāṇic names will also be noticed, but that is intentional. In describing Javanese, Malay and Balinese works, I have maintained the

1. Historically speaking, this occurred about half a century later.

spellings found in the Mss., but in offering my own criticism of the same I have followed the Sanskrit authors.

No one will ever sit in severer judgment on this work than I do myself, as I am too painfully conscious of its serious shortcomings. I hope however that some allowance will be made for a pioneer work of this kind, though I do not ask my critics to be forgetful of the errors of omission and commission which may have crept in in spite of my best efforts to the contrary. Any mistake kindly pointed out will be corrected in the next edition, if and when necessary. The work was undertaken at the suggestion of Prof. U. N. Ghoshal more than three years back and, due to various reasons, of which the distance between the author and the Press is not the least, the work took about two years to be ready for the public. During this period, some articles have appeared in the scientific journals, and my studies on Indonesian culture have also further progressed. The Ms. was therefore brought up-to-date from time to time. I hope the work, when studied along with the *Additional Notes* at the end of this volume, will indicate the present position of researches on Indo-Javanese literature. Owing to my intensive occupation with the work that is to follow soon, I could not devote much time to proof-reading and, though the proof-reader took all possible care in reading proofs of the latter portion of this work, some serious mistakes have still occurred. Attention is therefore invited to the list of *Addenda et Corrigenda* at the close of this volume. If there is any other mistake, I can only hope that this is not serious and will be readily made out by the reader himself.

I must now express my deep obligations to my Professor, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, as also to Profs. U. N. Ghoshal, S. K. Chatterji and H. D. Bhattacharya, who have taken keen interest in the publication of this humble work. I am also grateful to Dr. Ghoshal for the correction of some slips and to Prof. Bhattacharya for kindly reading Chap. III which deals with the influences of Indian Philosophy on Javanese sacred literature. I am obliged to them all for their valuable suggestions. I must also record my thanks to Mr. van

Manen, General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
for enabling me to consult the Dutch works deposited in the
Society's library. The index has been kindly prepared by
my friend, Mr. K. C. Ray.

Jagannath Hall, }
Dacca, }
November, 1934. }

H. B. S.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ann. Rep.=Annual Report.

Bal.=Balinese.

B. C. A. I.=Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique de l'Indo-Chine.

B. E. F. E. O.=Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.

Beschr. der Jav. Bal. en Sas. Hss. Tuuk=Brandes, Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr. H. N. van der Tuuk, en door hem vermaakt aan de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, dln. I—III.

Bijdragen T. L. Vk=Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.

Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss.=Juynboll, Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, 1899.

Cod.=Ms. at the Leiden University Library.

Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.=Vreede, Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, 1892.

Ep. Ind.=Epigraphia Indica.

Geschiedenis=Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 1926.

I. H. Q.=Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

Ind. Ant.=Indian Antiquary.

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I. S. C. C.=Bargaigne, Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge, published as 'Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, etc. Tome vingt-Septieme (Ire partie), 1st and 2nd fascicule.

J. A.=Journal Asiatique.

J. A. O. S.=Journal of the American Oriental Society.

- J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- J. B.-Br. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Journ. Malay-Br. R. A. S. = Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- J. P. T. S. = Journal of the Pali Text Society.
- J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- Kawi-Balin. Wdb. = Van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, dln. I—IV.
- Mal. = Malay.
- Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
- Not. Bat. Genoot. = Notulen van de algemeene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- N. S. = New Series.
- O. J. O. = Oudjavaansche Oorkonden. Nagelaten transcripties van wijlen Dr. J. L. A. Brandes. Uitgegeven door Dr. N. J. Krom, in Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, dl. LX, 1913.
- O. L. Z. = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
- Rām. = Rāmāyaṇa.
- Sitzungsber. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Skt. = Sanskrit.
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lijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

Tijdschrift v. Ned. Indie = Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie.

Verhand. Bat. Genoot. = Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

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INDIAN INFLUENCES ON THE LITERATURE
OF JAVA AND BALI

CHAPTER I

EARLY INDO-JAVANESE CONTACT AND THE DIALECTS OF THE COUNTRY

The reference to Yava-dvīpa in the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ probably suggests a sort of commercial relation among the Indo-Javanese peoples in the second century of the Christian era. The Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* may roughly be dated c. 200 A.D. and the date of the work of the Alexandrine geographer Ptolemy, which mentions² Iabadiū or Sabadiū, falls between 151 and 165 A. D. It appears from these incidental references that the Indonesian world was not unknown to the Indians and foreign travellers of the early Christian era. Leaving aside the vexed question whether the Iabadiū of Ptolemy and the Ye-po-ti of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian refer to Java or Sumatra, it is sufficient for our purpose to know that at least one of these islands—probably both (and they enjoyed the above generic names)—had early risen to fame as a great commercial centre and emporium of the south-east seas. A little earlier, in 132 A. D., as Gabriel Ferrand says, king Devavarman (Tiau pien) sent an embassy to China.³ Though the cultural hegemony of the Indian colonists in contemporary Java can not be definitely proved from the extant materials, the Arya-nised name of king Devavarman is quite significant. At any rate, it faithfully reflects the trend of the 'Zeitgeist' and the influence of early Indian colonists on prominent members of the ancient Javanese society. The title of the king is

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 4.40.30.

2 7th Book, chap. 2; vide also Gerini, "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," pp. 459 ff.

3 Vide *Journal Asiatique*, July-Aug., 1919, pp. 6, 14.

quite appropriate for a Kṣatriya king. We see thus that even in the second century of the Christian era, Iabadiū or Yava-dvīpa had been in direct relationship with India and China. The celebrated Javanese *kawī*-work, *Nāgara-kṛtāgama* (1365 A. D.), which is more of a history than a poetical composition, though too late an authority for this period, states in the second strophe of its fifteenth song that in "*Samodra-ananggoeng-bhoemi*" or 144 Śaka era, i.e. 222 A. D., there subsisted some sort of relations between Mādura and Java. As the Javanese chronicle was composed about a millennium later and does not give even a bare outline of these inter-relations, no reliable and accurate informations can be adduced for this period of Indo-Javanese history. We tread, however, on more solid historical ground c. 400 A. D., when we come across a group of four rock-inscriptions in West Java relating to Pūrṇavarman, who describes himself as the "lord of the town of Tārūma." One of these inscriptions has been carved beautifully on a boulder lying in the river Tji Tārūma, a name reminding us of the days of king Pūrṇavarman. The verses of this famous inscription run as follows :—

*"Vikrāntasy = āvanipateḥ
 Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmanāḥ
 Tārūma nagar = endrasya
 Viṣṇor = iva padaadvayaṃ."*

As some doubtful hypotheses have been built over this Sanskrit inscription, we like to translate it in the following manner : "Of the mighty ruler of the world, the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, (who is) lord of the town of Tārūma, (this) pair of foot-prints comparable to Viṣṇu's." As the inscription suggests, there is actually present a pair of foot-prints on the brow of the boulder above the Sanskrit verses. The inscription has been incised in early Grantha-alphabet used in the records of the Pallava rulers (c. 300-800 A.D.) for Southern India. The earliest colonists of West Java

were, therefore, probably immigrants from the Coromandel coast. As the river Candrabhāgī has also been mentioned in one of these inscriptions, some are inclined to regard them as colonists from the Pañjāb region. It is difficult, however, to say what religion was professed by these early Indian colonists. It has been surmised that king Pūrṇavarman and the colonists of the West were Vaiṣṇavas; but this generalisation is not warranted by the inscriptions at our disposal. The Tārūma record merely states that the foot-prints of king Pūrṇavarman were like unto Viṣṇu's, and all that we can say at the present moment is that he probably subscribed to the Brāhmaṇical faith. The set of Tārūma inscriptions is certainly posterior to the Kotei Sanskrit records on the banks of the Muhakkam river (E. Borneo), which testify to the celebration of a Brāhmaṇical sacrifice conducted by Brāhmaṇical priests¹. But we cannot assume on grounds of that priority that the Indians had settled in East Borneo before they actually colonised the Western parts of Java. If both these colonisations were effected through maritime enterprise, it is probable that the colonists from India would first land in West Java and then try to colonise the regions of Borneo². If, on the other hand, they traversed the territories of South-east Asia through Burma, Siam, Campā, Cambodia etc., embarking only from the point above Borneo, they might have colonised it prior to their settlement of W. Java. At any rate, the materials at our disposal do not throw sufficient light on this disputed point. It is significant, however, that the kings of E. Borneo, W. Java and the Coromandel coast use the Varman title appropriate for Kṣatriya kings. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, who was going to China from Ceylon, was caught in

1 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, LXXIV, pp. 162-232.

2 I am indebted to Prof. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., for this suggestion.

a hurricane in the South-east seas and was driven to a country called Ye-po ti—which might be Java or Sumatra—in 414 A.D. He says that in this country the heretics and the Brāhmaṇas flourish, but the laws of Lord Buddha are not much known. According to a Chinese tradition, Guṇavarman was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Java in 431 A.D. It is quite probable, however, that the incident merely records and represents a fresh influx of Buddhism into Java and does not necessarily testify to the first introduction of Buddhism into this country. Other isolated attempts might have been made previously to spread the gospel of the Northern church, but a “conspiracy of silence” in historical records does not allow us to make further observations on this point. On some evidences which we have gathered elsewhere, it is permissible to think that the peoples of Gujrāt probably came to Java during this period, and brought along with them Śaivism and the system of year-computation, which, in Java, started from the year 456 A. D. This hypothesis is further corroborated by the fact that the next inscription we come across has been dated in the Śaka year 654, while that of Pūrṇavarman does not offer the date of its composition. This Canggal in-cription of king Saṅjaya (654 Śaka year), written in Sanskrit and in a later form of the script used in W. Java, records the consecration of a holy *liṅga* in middle Java. According to Dr. Kern, the king’s ancestors belonged to Kuṅjarakuṅja in Southern India.¹ Though some scholars think that the inscription represents the inrush of the West-Javanese colonists towards middle Java,

1 Dr. R. C. Majumdār, M.A., Ph.D., drew my attention to the remark of Prof. N. J. Krom that the inscription does not support the conclusion of Dr. Kern, which is rather far-fetched. Vide Krom’s discussion in *Inleiding*, vol. I, p. 99.

others are inclined to believe that there was a fresh influx of Indian colonists in Middle-Java during this period from the Kalinga region. While it would be unprofitable to enter into this controversial question on account of the paucity of reliable data, it can be pointed out that many legends and traditions of Java recognise the steady influx of colonists from the Gujrāt region. The superiority of their number was probably responsible for the ultimate imposition of the Śaka system of year-computation in Javanese inscriptions. These years between 654 and 682 (Śaka year) represent the greatest activity on the part of the earliest Śaiva colonists. In the latter year, the inscription of Dinaja records in lucid Sanskrit verses the erection of an image of sage Agastya, who is regarded as the first missionary responsible for introducing Hindu civilization in the region beyond the Vindhya.¹ As we shall see later on, he has also been referred to in the celebrated Mahāyānist work of Java, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and in other works of the classical period. The oldest *Kawi*-record as also the earliest Buddhist inscription of Java, written in the Nāgarī script of the north, is the famous inscription of the illustrious Śailendra dynasty, which conformed to the Buddhist religion of the Mahāyānist school. This important record of c. 778 A.D. was simultaneously edited by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar² and Dr. J. L. A. Brandes.³ The inscription records the dedication of a temple to the Buddhist goddess Tārā together with a dwelling-place for the high-souled Bhikṣus, who knew the Vinaya and the Mahāyāna. The local governor, who built it at the request of the Śailendra king, calls himself '*Kariyānapanañkaraṇaḥ*'. These

1 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures for Feb. 1918, Lect. I.

2 J. B.-Br. R. A. S., vol. XVII, pt. II, (no. XLVII).

3 Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. Vk., deel XXXI. (1886), pp. 240-260.

Śailendra rulers of Śrīvijaya, whose centre was Palembang, play a dominant rôle in the political and cultural history of Indonesia from the 8th century of the Christian era. According to Dr. Stutterheim, however, the supremacy of the Śailendra dynasty merely represents a Javanese period of Sumatran history. These Śailendra rulers were Mahāyānist Buddhists and they tried, like Aśoka, to spread the religion of Lord Buddha in the zone of their commercial and political activities. Students of Indian history are quite familiar with the services rendered by the illustrious Bālaputradeva of Suvarṇadvīpa, donor of a monastery at Nālandā during the reign of Devapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal.³ He also belonged to this celebrated line of Buddhist rulers. Some epigraphists are of opinion that the oldest *Kawi*-forms agree with the alphabets of the Girṇār inscription. Another "ornament of the Śailendra dynasty", at the request of his spiritual preceptor, erected the image of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjughoṣa, which has been referred to in the much-damaged inscription of 782 A.D., discovered at Kelurak. The Indo-Javanese artists of this century also began to build marvellous architectural structures, and the scribblings for the direction of masons at the reliefs on the basement of Borobodur, according to Prof. N. J. Krom, may, on palaeographical grounds, be dated in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Temples of the Dyeng plateau and of the Prāmbānān-group were also contemporaneous with the Borobodur stupa; at any rate, they are certainly not later than the 9th century A.D. We shall not be far wrong probably if we accept 750-900 A.D. as the golden age of Indo-Javanese art. Much valuable contribution has thus been made to the cultural history of middle Java during this epoch of Indo-Javanese relations.

1 Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff.

It seems probable to us that the Buddhism of this time came from East Bengal, where the Khadgas,¹ Candras² and other Buddhist dynasties ruled and where the Pāla Emperors first rise into importance.³ In ancient times it was also known as Harikela: "*Vaṅgās = tu Harikē-tyā Aṅgās = Camp = opalakṣitūh.*" Towards the close of the 7th century A.D., I-tsing the Chinese pilgrim lived here for about a year,⁴ as it was a great centre of Buddhist culture. The celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsang also learnt Buddhism and Yoga from Śīlabhadra, a prince of Samatāṭa, which might be South or East Bengal. It appears from a reference of Kālidāsa,⁵ from the use of "*Samudrāśrayān*" in the Haḍāhā inscription⁶ and from other original sources that the Bengalees of those days were also great navigators. An inscription of the Buddhist sea-captain Mahānāvika Budhagupta of Raktamṛttikā (mod. Rāṅgāmāṭi in Mursīdābād) has been discovered in the Wellesley district of the Malay peninsula. The Kelurak inscription, which we have described previously, also refers to Rāja-guru, who came from Gauḍadvīpa (Bengal) to Java with a view to 'purify with the holy dust of his feet' the Śailendra

1 Vide Ashrafpur copper-plate grant of Devakhaḍga, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. I, No. 6, pp. 85-91. The dynasty probably ruled in the 7th century A.D. with Kāmtā near Comillā as capital.

2 Vide Ep. Ind., vol. XII, No. 18; Ibid., vol. XVII; they were contemporaneous with the later Pālas.

3 Cf. the Śloka, "*Sakraḥ purodiśi putir=na dig=antareṣu
Tatr=āpi daitya-patibhir=jitu=eva [sadyah]
Dharmaḥ kṛtas=tad=adhipas=tv=akhilāsu
dikṣu
Svāmī may=eti vijahāsa Bṛhaspatiṃ yah*"
Badāl inscription.

4 Vide Jyan Takakusu's I-tsing, p. XLVI.

5 Vide Raghuvamśaṃ, 4th Sarga.

6 Vide Ep. Ind., vol. XIV, p. 117.

ruler of central Java, who consecrated the image of Mañjuśrī. Professor Coedès has already shown us from an old Malay inscription of Śrīvijaya (684 A.D.) that the Vajrayāna was known to Sumatra at that early period. When we bring this scattered information together, it seems to indicate that the Mahāyāna and the Tantrayāna cults of Java really penetrated from Bengal, probably East Bengal, the centre of Buddhism in E. India. Indeed, the very name of Borobodur seems to have been derived from the Bengali Buddhists, who used the term 'Vadar' as a corruption of Vajra, signifying a title of Lord Buddha.

From the second half of the 9th century A.D., the centre of political gravity gradually shifts to East Java, where we notice a great Śaivite revival in 863 A.D. It is very probably due to the influence of the great Vedāntist philosopher Śaṅkarācārya, who led a crusade in the 8th century A.D. against the Buddhists of the mainland. The Indo-Javanese literature of the earliest period represents a tremendous influence of Śaivism, which began to modify the philosophy of the Mahāvānist Buddhists. This tincture of Śaivism in the early literature of the Javanese peoples is the after-effect of aggressive Hinduism of the school of the great Vedāntist philosopher Śaṅkarācārya. The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Yogīśvara, the *Bhuvanakośa*, the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa*, to quote only a few names out of many, may serve to illustrate the point. The full East-Javanese period, however, begins with Siṇḍok of Meḍang, whose influence became predominant in the second quarter of the 10th century A.D. He belonged to the Īśāna dynasty of Java, which, according to our theory, was replaced by that of Dharmmavaṃśa in 947 A.D. Anantavikrama, a scion of the latter dynasty, who was ruling towards the close of the 10th century A.D., gave his daughter in marriage to Airlangga, one of the most enlightened rulers of ancient Java. During his reign in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., there was vigorous activity in the domain of art and literature,

and some of the best *Kawi*-works belong to this period. Many important works were also composed in the reigns of Jayavarṣa, Jayabhaya, Hayam Wuruk and other distinguished rulers of Java, as we shall see later on.

Though kings and kingdoms have fallen together, the literary activity of the peoples has never suffered greatly. With the change of the political centre from Kediri, Tumapel or Singhasari, to Majapahit—the literary activity has only changed places. After the fall of Majapahit in about 1478 A.D., literature takes a newer form and it generally goes by the name of Middle-Javanese. This style of literature persists up to c. 1628 A.D., when it makes room for the Javanese of our own days. It must not be imagined, however, that this division of literary epochs is absolute—it merely represents a rough classification of literary ideals and styles in three distinct diversified forms. Indonesian literature of the Middle-Javanese and New Javanese periods has been greatly influenced by the penetration of Islamic ideals and they have been responsible for creating a hybrid composition of a very peculiar type. Adam, Suleiman, Mahammad, Hamza have appeared along with the heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Excepting probably the Pañji-cycle of stories in the Middle-Javanese and the celebrated Balinese *Megantaka*, no work of subsequent date can stand comparison with the works of the classical period of Indo-Javanese literature. Before we proceed, however, with these works, it would be better to have some idea of Indonesian dialects and languages, which we shall refer to sometimes in course of our study.

"The Indonesian linguistics", says Blagden,¹ "constitute the Western division of the great Austronesian (or Mal-Polynesian or Oceanic) family of speech, which extends

1 "An introduction to Indonesian linguistics," by Dr. Brandstetter, Ph.D., translated by G. O. Blagden, Preface.

over a vast portion of the earth's surface.....Though but a small part of its area falls on the mainland of Asia, there is no reasonable doubt that it is of genuinely Asiatic origin, and of late years, it has been linked up with another Asiatic family, which includes a number of languages of India and Indo-China e.g. Munda, Khási, Mon-Khmer, etc." Apart from this linguistic affinity in the group of Indo-Mal-Polynesian peoples, there is yet a cultural relationship in the domain of art, religion, science and literature—which can be the proper theme of scientific study, and in the present volume we propose to devote our main attention to the literature of these interesting peoples.

✓ Among the languages of Indonesia, Sundanese, Madurese and Javanese have an important literature of their own. Sundanese was spoken by the mountaineers of the Western districts of Java before the in-coming of Islam. It is probably the oldest dialect of Western Java. A large number of Malay words have found place in the Sundanese vocabulary and some Sanskrit terms used in connexion with art, science, and polity are to be noticed therein. The Madurese, however, is distinctly a different dialect from Sundanese, though some words from the latter have penetrated into the former. It has further been enriched by an influx of Malay words. This dialect can be sub-divided into two branches, viz. the dialect of Madura proper and that of Sumenap. They are, however, more akin to Malayese and Sundanese than to Javanese, which has the most interesting literature in the Archipelago. The Balinese dialect, which possesses a valuable literature like that of the Javanese, does not, however, betray close relation to the Javanese. Indeed, Dr. Van der Tuuk says,¹ "Only a

few words are identical in both languages, while many others have in each case more or less different forms”.

The Javanese, which is the language east of Cheribon, has a very interesting history. The old-Javanese is also called *Kawi* and the works in *Kawi*-poesie are called *Kakawin*. Its history ranges at least from the time of the Kalasan inscription of the Sailendra dynasty of Palembang to the fall of Majapahit c. 1478 A.D. This is the classical period of Javanese literature and the best works of this epoch have defied the ravages of time. The Middle-Javanese makes room for New Javanese in about 1628 A.D. (1550 Saka year), and gradually divides itself into several subdivisions e.g. Krama, Madya (Madhya), Ngoko, Basa Kedatan and Krama Inggil.

Krama is the polite language and is sometimes used by the aristocrats when speaking to equals. To speak Krama therefore, to an inferior or an equal, is a mark of respect. When addressing an inferior, the aristocrat uses the Ngoko, which is the language of the commoners. Similarly, the commoners use the dialect of the aristocrats—the Krama—while addressing their superiors. As a matter of fact, the peoples are, therefore, compelled to learn both the Ngoko as well as the Krama. And the children of the country, though they generally speak and think in Ngoko, become accustomed to both these forms of speech from their early life and this habit is further enhanced by their training in the *Daśanāma*, which is a table for synonyms, and which they cannot escape learning. A list of *Daśanāma*, which we have discussed elsewhere, will readily account for the richness of the dialect with its minute distinctions and different shades of meaning. Between Ngoko and Krama, there is a sort of compromise dialect, which goes by the name of Madya. The Madya is generally used by the aristocrats while speaking amongst themselves, the Krama being occasionally used. This compromise-dialect is a hybrid mixture of Ngoko and

Krama words. The knowledge of these three offshoots of the New-Javanese is a necessity which an ordinary Javanese cannot avert. The Ngoko and the Krama contain some Sanskrit words and it has been proved conclusively by the recent researches of Dutch Scholars that about 40 Sanskrit words more than those in Ngoko are to be met with in the polite tongue i.e. the Krama. There are, however, some Sanskrit words in Ngoko which are not to be met with in the Krama. The Krama Inggil, to which we have previously, referred contains a vocabulary of about 300 words and this dialect is used in addressing gods and the aristocrats of the country. Viewed from the standpoint of commoners, the Krama Inggil, therefore, besides being employed for addressing the superiors, has the additional function of being used as a vehicle for addressing the gods of the country. The Basa Kedatan, however, is of artificial growth and is primarily considered as a court-language, which is used by all living in the courts. As the persons of the blood royal are in the highest rung of the ladder, they address others—who are presumably of lower rank—in Ngoko. The women of the court, however, while speaking amongst themselves, use the polite tongue or the compromise-dialect i.e. either Krama or Madya. If they be in the necessity of addressing men, they would use the Basa Kedatan, which is the general court-language.

✓ The Sanskrit words that have entered into the *Kawi*-language have been greatly corrupted. Dr. Friederich¹ pointed out long ago that 'wa' has been changed to 'o,' 'ya' to 'e,' and much confusion has cropped up between 'ū' and 'o,' 'i' and 'e' and 'w' and 'b'. For example, Sanskrit Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Varuṇa etc. become in *Kawi* Byāsa, Balmīki, Baruna, etc. Besides, we notice again the custom

1 Dr. Friederich, 'Voorloopig Verslag van het eiland Bali,' p. 6 in *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, deel XXII.

that has obtained among the *Kawi*-writers of dropping some Sanskrit prefixes, which make it extremely difficult to recognise the original Sanskrit word. For example, we get 'nugraha' in the place of Sanskrit 'anugraha' and so forth. The custom is also prevalent among the Malay peoples. To take some instances, the Sanskrit 'Avatara' has been transformed into Malay 'Vitarā', the Javanese 'Rambulan' (Moon) has been changed into 'Bulan' and so forth.¹ Sometimes we find that owing to the requirements of prosody or versification, many words and syllables—which are absolutely necessary for yielding a complete sense—are omitted; sometimes, again, many unnecessary words and syllables are over-burdened on the construction, which, however, is simple and regular. The nouns, as in the Malay, possess no distinction of number, gender and case. The number is denoted by separate words, expressive of plurality or singularity. In the Sanskrit, we have *karṭṛ-kāraka*, *karma-kāraka* etc; but the Javanese has no corresponding cases. Adjectives, which follow the noun, are indeclinable. When a necessity is felt for comparing an object, it is generally done by prefixing a word, which means higher or lower, or by the addition of some adverbs. The superlative degree is expressed by adverbs, meaning "very, exceedingly etc." It would appear from this general survey that the construction of sentences does not follow the Sanskrit—it is of independent origin and of native growth. It is an Indonesian frame that sustains the Indian soul.

There is a tradition in the *Aji Śaka* that the art of writing was introduced in Java by a Brāhmaṇa called Tritreṣṭa, who is a half-mythical person. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to say how far this is based on facts. At any rate, we cannot ignore the fact that the order of alphabets in Devanāgarī has

1 J. Leyden, 'Essays relating to Indo-China,' vol. I, p. 95.

also been imitated in the Sumatran and Celebes alphabets. The order is different in Javanese, though it appears that the Indian arrangement was not unknown to the Javanese peoples. On account of this different system, some scholars are inclined to believe that these *Aksaras* were introduced in Java at a time, when the order in India itself was not fixed at all. The decimal system of notation, however, is a conspicuous gift of the Indian peoples, for which the world will ever be indebted to the Hindus. With these preliminary remarks on the cultural contact of the two most interesting peoples of South-east Asia, we pass on to our study of literature proper—which is the main theme of this work. In the concluding chapter of this book we shall have occasion to pause for a moment over the consequent results of Indo-Javanese contact and gauge the depth of Indian cultural influence on the lives and ideals of the Javanese and the Balinese peoples. At present let us see what India contributed to the literature of these interesting peoples and how far their literature was developed and modified through the curious commingling of literary ideals of these two types of peoples—the Indo-Aryan and the Austronesian families of the human race.

CHAPTER II.

SACRED LITERATURE—(A) THE VEDAS AND (B) THE BRAHMAṆḌAPURĀṆA

In Java and Bali, there are many books on theology, which are directly or indirectly connected with the sacred literature of India. Besides the so-called Vedas—which do not exist at the present moment—we have the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*, *Bhuvanakośa*, *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa*, *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna*, *Bṛhaspati Tattva*, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyūnikan*—which rank foremost in popular estimation. *Pari passu*, we have legions of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist mantras or charms, many of which have undoubtedly been borrowed from India. Particularly the occurrence of the second verse of the Gāyatrī mantra in the Sūryasevana—a mantra, which the Brāhmaṇas would never impart to non-Hindus—is a positive proof that this mantra, at any rate, was brought over by the Brāhmaṇa colonists of India.¹ All these books are written partly in Sanskrit and partly in old-Javanese and, therefore, a study of these works from the view-point of India's contribution is an object of scientific curiosity. As the early Indian colonists of Java never intended to commit spiritual suicide, it was a foregone conclusion that a rich Indo-Javanese literature of a religious character would develop there under peculiar circumstances. And that is what has actually happened there. The Indian colonists of Java

1 J. L. A. Brandes wrote in the 'aanteekeningen' on the 1st chapter of the *Pararaton* that Lohgawe (Rāghava?), contemporary of Ken Angrok (1104-'69 Śaka), is the first Brāhmaṇa of Java. In view of a long-standing Indo-Javanese contact onwards from the second century of the Christian era, it is really to be wondered why the Brāhmaṇas should come only in the reign of Ken Angrok, and not earlier. Cf. Fahian's statement, mentioned in the first chapter.

not only brought their forms and rituals of worship but also their religious literature, which is the very foundation of their life. That is the reason probably why the largest number of books of Indian origin in Java and Bali are of a religious character—always the secular tone has been subordinated to theological considerations even in the few secular works that we do possess.

✓ If we classify, again, the old-Javanese writers of the so-called Vedic literature of Indonesia, we are agreeably surprised to find that the largest number of writers come from the sects of the Śaivas and the Buddhists, and least from the Vaiṣṇavas. Though the earliest colonists of West Java were probably Brāhmaṇical Hindus¹ from Southern India—as is suggested by the so-called Veṅgi-script of c. 400 A. D.—they seem to have been submerged under the waves of newer Śaiva colonists, whom we see established in Middle Java at a later date. We do not know if these early colonists of West Java contributed anything towards the development of the ancient Javanese literature. Leaving aside the Kalasan inscription of c. 778 A. D., which is the first *kawi*-record extant of Java, literature proper, as we understand by the term, does not take its start before the 10th century A. D. Is it not curious, that within 6 centuries of Hindu influence in Java ranging at least from the 4th to the 10th, they contributed nothing towards the development of the literature of the country? The problem seriously sets us a-thinking. This state of affairs, we think, was due to various reasons and of them, the first place must be assigned to the struggle of languages—Indian as well as Javanese. Nothing sort of a miracle can change or transform the language of a country within an appreciably short time and, as the earliest Indian colonists of Java were not of sufficient numbers, the

1 We do not know whether they were Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas, as the inscriptions do not state anything explicitly.

experiment must have been protracted for a long time. It is very probable that the native dialects of Java persistently opposed the intrusion of the Sanskrit language, which, however, on account of its polish and richness, began to make steady progress. The strength of Sanskrit was further augmented by the influx of fresh colonists from India; the Javanese peoples as well during these centuries of contact began to appreciate the melody and rhythm of Sanskrit, which was capable of expressing the most subtle ideas in the most exquisite forms. This compromise in the field of language created the wonderful but artificial *kawi*, in which majority of words are Sanskritic and least Javanese. This struggle of two languages—Indo-Aryan and Austronesian—probably retarded the spontaneous growth of literature for a considerable time till the development of the artificial compromise-language created a new field for literary enterprise. As Sanskrit and Javanese would not be understood by the earliest Indo-Javanese society, necessity was felt for the creation of a language of the type of *kawi*, which, while retaining the forms of the oldest Javanese construction, would bear the spirit of a more refined language. *Kawi* language is, therefore, in some respects the continuation of the classical literature of ancient India.

The oldest *kawi*-record, as stated previously, is the celebrated Kalasan inscription of c. 778 A.D. The oldest dialect of Java which was merely marking time before the eighth century A. D., now begins to develop rapidly in a newer form. In the annals of the Indo-Javanese literature, the Kalasan inscription, therefore, not only represents the synthesis of two cultural ideals but also tends to give a start to literature proper. According to some scholars, certain books written in old-Javanese or *kawi* may be assigned to the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era. If we accept this conjecture, we can provisionally accept 778 A.D. as the starting point of the Javanese literature,

though definite proof of it cannot be obtained before the 10th century A.D. As the rich Sanskrit language was its hand-maid, there is no wonder that the *kawi*-literature suddenly bursts forth in full glory even in its infancy.

It may be argued again that the Indo-Javanese literature prior to the tenth century A. D. may have met the same fate which awaited the pre-Kautilīya Arthaśāstras.¹ It is quite natural that if some works of outstanding merit are written on a particular topic, the earlier ones are gradually overshadowed by those newer in the field and become extinct in due course. The difficulties in the way of our accepting this hypothesis lie in the fact that the oldest Javaese vehicle does not appear to be strong enough to carry the burden of rich imageries and subtle ideas with their abstruse shades and meanings, as were introduced by the oldest colonists of ancient India. Indeed, it requires robust faith to believe in the possibilities of a literature that has left behind no vestige for the pre-Kalasan period. Supposing, but not admitting, that there was an indigenous literature before the eighth century A. D. which has followed the suit of the pre-Kautilīya Arthaśāstras, what guarantee is there that every work of this period would be covered by some outstanding compositions of the post-Siṇḍok period of Indo-Javanese history and become extinct as a result thereof? If there was any literature before the eighth century A. D., its disappearance has to be traced to a different reason; because, no literature, however rich, can cover every subject of the previous authors. By the ninth century, however, Indian cultural influence definitely predominated over the Javanese, and the Śaivite revival of 863 A.D. gave it a further impetus, which is clearly discernible in the Rāma-reliefs of the Prāmbānān-group. The 122 years intervening between 778-900 A. D. may, therefore, be regarded as a transitional

1 I am indebted to Prof. U. N. Ghosal, M.A., Ph.D., for drawing my particular attention to this side of the question.

period. The language used in the Kalasan inscription was thus improved by writers of the 10th century A. D., who adopted it for their literature and gave it a final form. Towards the beginning of the 11th century A. D., Vaiṣṇavism seems to have made some headway in West Java, and Vaiṣṇava literature flourished under king Tjitjatih, probably himself a Vaiṣṇava by faith. Kediri records belonging to the middle of the 11th century A. D. also betray a strong Vaiṣṇavite tinge. If we, however, take a general view of the Indo-Javanese literature, it appears that the majority of writers are either Buddhists or Śaivas and few Vaiṣṇavas. This fact indicates the unique position of the Śaivas and the Buddhists in the peculiarly-constituted Indo Javanese society.

With the Balinese peoples, however, everything is blank and no record can be dated before 818 Śaka year or 896 A.D.¹ The majority of their writings are either adaptations or borrowings from the Indo-Javanese classical literature, and in this way the interlinear translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhūratayuddha kidung*, the *Rāma kidung*, etc., have continued in Bali. There are some excellent works of indigenous origin, but as they do not come within our purview, we do not consider them for our present purpose. It is a matter of congratulation, however, that much of the Indo Javanese literature has been able to escape the terrible fate of the Buddhist libraries of Vikramaśilā and Uddandapura, which were totally destroyed by the Muslim conquerors. As the Eastern Roman Empire preserved the vestiges of the Græco-Roman culture in Constantinople, or as Nepal preserved the heritage of the twelfth-century Bauddha-monks of Bengal, so also the little island of Bali was able to sustain the classical literature of Java, whose loss would have undoubtedly diminished much of our interest in the Indo-Javanese cultural history. Though our knowledge

1 Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, 'Oudheden Van Bali,' p. 8.

of the earliest phase of the Indo-Balinese literature is not sufficiently clear, it may be stated in general that most of the Indian works that have penetrated into the island of Java have also retained their hold in the literary circles of Bali.

The question now naturally arises why the creators of the Indo-Javanese literature wrote partly in Sanskrit and rarely in Prākṛt or Pāli? Why is it a fact that even the Buddhist writers did not shun Sanskrit in favour of canonical Pāli, which was the sacred vehicle of their religious literature? From the time of Lord Buddha right up to the time of the Gupta supremacy, Pāli was enjoying an unparalleled reputation in the land of its origin and it would be quite natural, therefore, to suppose that the Indian Buddhist emigrants in Java would try to leave an impress of their literature [on the *Kawi* literature of Indonesia, and this would perhaps have been the logical outcome. It was a pure accident, however, that the earliest Indian colonists of Java were Brāhmaṇical Hindus and they had settled, as far as we know at the present moment, before the arrival of the Buddhist immigrants. This influx of the Brāhmaṇical Hindus, besides other contributing factors, necessarily had a greater influence on the history of *Kawi* literature, which, in its earliest stages began to be moulded by the peoples that came earlier. Besides, the current of Sanskrit literature, which was re-invigorated in the post-Vedic period by many works on philosophy and religion, received a tremendous stimulus from the prolific contributions of Bhāsa, Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and other writers of the post-Mauryan period. In the place of what is called '*Monumental Prākṛt*' by Senart, Sanskrit inscriptions gradually came to hold the ground from the second century B.C. till we come to the age of elaborate Sanskrit *prāśastis* of the type of Hariṣeṇa's Allahabad inscription. Now, when these Brāhmaṇical colonists landed as the torch-bearers of Indian civilisation in this outlying frontier

India of and became the vanguard of succeeding Indian influxes—Hindu and Buddhist—they naturally brought along with them the legacy of this Sanskrit literature, which, enriched by the writings of contemporary Sanskrit authors, was stirring the imaginations of the Indian world. Notwithstanding the past grandeur of Pāli, it could not make any headway in this “island-empire” for want of zealous protagonists, who could stem back the tide of Sanskrit influence. Aśokan inscriptions do not mention the despatch of any Buddhist missionary for the propagation of Buddhism in Java and, when the Bhikṣus came at all, their language and literature were on the general decline in the mainland. Whether we admit or not the proposition of Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstrī that the Maurya empire collapsed as a result of Brāhmaṇical reaction,¹ the facts remain that after the break-down of the Mauryan political machinery, Brāhmaṇical influence gradually becomes predominant in the main theatres of Indian history. The rule of the Kāṇvas, Śuṅgas, Andhrabhr̥tyas, Vākātakas and even of the Western satraps really reflects the spirit of Neo-Hinduism, which, with its elaborate rituals and ceremonials offered a counterblast to Mahāyānist Buddhism. The final verdict on this point was given in the fourth century A.D., when the powerful patronage of the Imperial Gupta monarchs brought Hinduism on a par with Aśokan Buddhism, which, notwithstanding the official support of the Kuṣāṇa monarchs began to decline for the time being. So, when the Buddhist preachers of the Mahāyānist school began to pour into these groups of islands, they had no powerful state-support behind them, and they noticed with some chagrin after their arrival in Java that the Brāhmaṇical colonists (may be Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas) of the South, and the Śaiva colonists of Western India were comfortably

.1 J. A. S. B., 1910, p. 259.

lodged in West and Middle Java and Sanskrit had made some progress as a vehicle of literature.¹ The citadel of Sanskrit might still have been stormed if the Buddhists came in sufficient numbers, which they never did. When the Chinese pilgrim Fahian visited Java in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., the Buddhists were very few in the island and their influence counted all too little. And hence, there is no wonder, that when the question of writing the Kalasan inscription cropped up, modified Sanskrit or *Kawi* was adopted as the vehicle of expression and Nāgarī became the script. It practically decided the virtual predominance of Sanskrit, which henceforward began to develop under the triple auspices of the Brāhmaṇical Hindus, Buddhists and the Javanese. Outside the literary sphere, they also began to develop a composite compromise-religion, a rough grasp of which is necessary for a proper understanding of the literature of Java and Bali, which is replete with modified theories of Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist philosophy.

The close relation that subsisted between these two important communities of Java and Bali had naturally exerted some coordinate influence on contemporary literature and society. In fact, a study of the ancient Indo-Javanese literature would clearly demonstrate how Śaivism gradually came into the lime-light and Buddhism receded to the back-ground. A sort of compromise in religion was the outcome of this inter-relationship; but evidently, the Indo-Javanese community of the Buddhists and the Hindus more compromised their religious views than their brethren in Pāla-Bengal. Pāla-inscriptions never identify Buddha with Lord Śiva nor do they recognise the former as the younger brother of the latter, though, by the time of Kṣemendra of Kāśmīr (11th century A.D.), and Jayadeva of Bengal (12th century A.D.), Buddha

1 Cf. the language of inscriptions dated before 778 A.D..

was absorbed into the Hindu pantheon as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This compromise in religion is demonstrated in the festivities of Bali, in the literature and inscriptions of Java. An avowed Mantrayānist work of great importance—the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*—was not even free from Śaiva tinge. It appears thus that there was going on a strenuous effort to merge the two god-heads—Śiva and Buddha—into one. In the Simpang-stone inscription of Airlangga (Śaka 956=1034 A.D.), we come across the phrase—“*Śaiva Sogata ṛṣi*”; in the Calcutta-stone inscription of the same king, dated 965 Śaka=1043 A.D., we find the expression, “*Sogata Mahēśvara Mahābrāhmaṇa*”. Again, the Singasari inscription of 1273 Śaka era (1351 A.D.) states, “*Mahābrāhmūṇā Śeva Sogata*.”¹ This is not only evident in inscriptions, but also in literature. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* says,² “God Buddha differs not from Śiva, the uppermost of gods.....they are different and they are one!” The term ‘*Śaiva-Buddha*’, has also been used in song 40 of the above work. In the lontar-Ms. of *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (Cod. 5063 of the Lombok collection), we come across on fol. 22 the expression, “*Buddha tunggal lawan Śiva*” i.e. Buddha is one with Lord Śiva.³ In fact, Buddha has been regarded in Indonesia as the youngest brother of Śiva. It is interesting to note that the peoples of Java and Bali do not worship there the Buddhistic Śiva but rather the Śaivistic Buddha. We have got there ‘*Śiva-Buddhālayas*’, i.e., temples of Śiva-Buddha.

This prominent factor has tintured the sacred literature of Indonesia. So there is no wonder if we notice that the Javanese Buddhist authors have written stories in

1 Bijdragen T. L. Vk., deel 75, p. 23.

2 Ibid., deel 65, p. 13, quoted by Van Eerde.

3 Ibid., 7th series, 6, p. 57, “Nieuwe Bijdrage tot de Kennis-
Van het Mahayanism op Java.”

Kawi-language, which are borrowed not from the *Jātakas* or the legends of Buddha, but from the great epic stories of India. The difference, however, between the Buddhist Vajrayānism, which is a later off-shoot of the Mantrayānist school, and the Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism does not appear to be quite clear. The nihilistic '*Śūnyatā*' and '*Nirvāṇa*' are present in both the Śaiva and the Buddhistic writings, and we do not possess sufficient materials to bring out clearly how far they are based upon the Sāṃkhya philosophy, the Vedānta and the teachings of the Mādhyamika school. Whatever difference there might have been during the ninth and the tenth centuries of the Christian era between Vajrayānism and Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism, we find that their main ideological differences were fast disappearing by the middle of the eleventh century and, that is due to the development of the Śiva-Buddha cult.¹ The un-Buddhistic opening of the book *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, which was composed in 1365 A.D., explains this *Śūnyatā* or *Voidness* in such a way that the metaphysical theories of the Mantrayāna and the Brāhmaṇical Vedānta commingle on the same point.² Let us see how proceeds the argument of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* :—

Buddha = Kha = Ākāśa = Śūnya

and

Śiva = Ākāśa = Kha = Śūnya

Therefore, Buddha = Śiva = O.

As Kern points out, this philosophy of '*Sarvaṃ Śūnyam*' is the essence of Vedāntism as well as Vajrayānism, which seek to release the individual soul from the bondage of this material world in its endeavour to attain Nirvāṇa.

1 There are many gods and goddesses in Bali, whose worship require the joint-collaboration of the Buddhists and the Hindus, without which it cannot be celebrated. Vide details in Bijdragen T. L. Vk., deel 75, p. 1 ff.

2 Kern, Bijdragen T. L. Vk., 1907-8, p. 395 ff.

or salvation. This is the pervading note of a large number theological works of Indonesia and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to have some idea of it at the very outset, though we shall discuss the subject more fully later on. With these preliminary remarks, we now pass on to our subject proper, viz.—the ‘Vedas of Indonesia’.

The phrases, ‘Vedas of Indonesia’ and the ‘Vedic literature’ have sometimes been used by foreign scholars, though it is probably a misnomer to call them as such. The Vedas, as we understand by the term, do not exist in Java and Bali nor is there any proof that they did ever exist. Only the names of the Vedas appear to be quite familiar with the Javanese and the Balinese priests, who cannot, however, offer any substantial information on this point. Still, we have sometimes used these phrases, because they exactly translate the spirit of a section of the Indo-Javanese and the Indo-Balinese literature, which we are going to discuss now.

Dr. Friederich mentioned the names of the four Vedas as (1) the Rêg Veda, (2) the Jadjoer Veda, (3) the Lama Veda and (4) the Artawa Veda, and conjectured that they travelled into the island of Bali from Kediri and Majapahit.¹ As the Vedas, however, do not exist and as we do not know what they contained even if they existed at all, it is very difficult for us to assess the value of the hypothesis of Dr. Friederich. Further, the Balinese priests use the words ‘Veda’ and ‘Caturveda’, but what was exactly connoted by them during the Indo-Javanese period, it is very difficult to say. Dr. Goris says², ‘The fact that by Veda the Balinese peoples understood only charms and nothing else, is no guessing; it appears from the ‘*Vivāha*’, where *gūḍha*-mantras or charms have been translated in the Balinese recension

1 Vide ‘Voorloopig Verslag Van het eiland Bali’ in Verhand. Bat. Genoot., deel XXII, 1849, p. 10.

2 Vide ‘Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,’ p. 144.

by "*Vedda*". Similarly, the extract '*Buddha-veda*' is merely a charm and contains some formulas of the Buddhists.

The Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, however, mentions only three Vedas quite incidentally, viz., the Ṛk, Yajus, and Sāma, which contained only 4 *stotras*,¹ e.g., (1) the *Dravya* or 9 elementary substances, (2) *Guṇa* (Sattva, Rajas, Tamah), (3) *Karma* (or the practical part) and, (4) the *Bījāna-stotra* or hymn to the family or the race,² which thus appears to be the genealogical part of the work. If at all these Indian Vedas came to Indonesia, they are long lost beyond our hopes of recovery. Beyond these statements, we cannot say anything more at the present state of our knowledge. We now go on to discuss the Balinese recension of the Indian *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which was first discussed³ and analysed by Dr. Friederich as early as 1849.

In India, we have got 18 Purāṇas, which expound the 3 cults of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara. In Indonesia, however, we come across only one Purāṇa and that is the book under review. It contains the story of creation, the reign of the different Manus, the description of time and space according to the Indian notion, the history of the old royal families and the mythology and mythical chronology. This purāṇa has been described as written by Bhagavān Vyāsa and quite incidentally Vālmīki has been mentioned as the writer of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Just like the Indian recension,⁴ the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

1 Vide Verhand. Bat. Genoot., deel XXII, p. 50.

2 According to the reputed author of the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy, the contents of the universe are distributed under 6 categories, of which the first three are (1) *Dravya*, (2) *Guṇa*, and (3) *Karma*.

3 Verhand. Bat. Genoot., XXII, p. 50 ff.

4 "Aṇḍaṃ Hiraṇ=mayan=ca=iva babhur=āpratiṃ=antataḥ
Ato'h=tra viśva-devāṇām=ṛṣiṇāṃ=ca =opavarṇitaṃ
Nadīnāṃ Parvatānāṃ=ca prādurbhavo'h=tra varṇyate."

of Bali also states that the world was created from 'Anḍa' or egg by the penances of Brahmā. The author of the Balinese recension then mentions the story of the creation of the four sons of Brahmā, but he gives the names of two sons only, to wit, (1) Sunanda and Sanat-kumāra. Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk,¹ however, referred to a second Ms., which seems to be fuller than the one used by Dr. Friederich. Because, it not only gives the name of the third son (*mānasa-putra*) as Sanaka, but also gives us some additional informations. The name Sunanda of Friederich's Ms. has been changed into Enanda in the Ms. of V. d. Tuuk. The Indian recension² gives in one place only three names, e.g. Sanandana, Sanaka and Sanātana and in another place³ 4, e.g. Sananda, Sanaka, Sanātana, and Sanatkumāra. It is probably this list, which has been referred to in the Balinese recension. The Ms. of Dr. Van der Tuuk further introduces us at the very beginning to a king called Dasamakṛṣṇa or Diśimakṛṣṇa⁴ and to the two Bhagavānas, Romaharṣaṇa and Nemiṣeya,⁵ who were interrogated by the king to relate the '*Manuvamśakrama*.' After this, follows a lengthy description of the creation and the birth of the four mānasa-putras: '*Agre sasarijja bhagavān mānasūn ātmanah samān*.' Then follows a tedious description of the origin of time and space, as we find in the Indian recension. Brahmā then proceeded to create the nine *Devarṣis*, e.g. Marīci, Bhṛgu, Aṅgir, Pulasta, Pulaha, Kratu, Dakṣa, Atri, and

1 J. R. A. S., New Series, 13, p. 47.

2 Vide 67th verse, 6th Adhyāya.

3 Vide 9th Adhyāya, 67-68 verses.

4 Adhisimakṛṣṇa.

5 This was probably due to the difficulty of the Sanskrit text. It was not a name but really an adjective to Romaharṣaṇa. The Javaneese author perhaps could not understand it and took it for a name.

Vaśiṣṭha. In the Indian recension,¹ we find Aṅgīrasa in the place of Aṅgīra, and Pulastya in the place of Pulasta. The arrangement of names also differ. After creating all these nine *Devarṣis*, the Creator suddenly remembered that he had not yet created his own grand-father and forthwith he proceeded to give a form to Śiva Parameśvara, the highest of gods. It undoubtedly is reminiscent of early Śaiva influence. After this, he created the Devas, the Asuras, the Pitṛs, the Yakṣas the Manuṣyas, etc.² He then divided men into four castes and created Dharma and Ahimsā. When this was done, the god proceeded to create Svayambhūva Manu and Bāṭārī Satarupa, who begot the beautiful damsel Rati, wife of the Love-god Kāma. The Indian *Br. Purāṇa*, however, has made some confusion over Rati and Satarupā, who have been identified in one place³ as the wife of Svayambhūva Manu. In another place,⁴ Rati has again been described as the wife of Kāma, as we frequently notice in the Indian and the Indonesian literature. Then follows the genealogy of Svayambhūva Manu, and his relation with the 9 *Devarṣis* has been set forth with some details. The twelve Yamas and Lakṣmī were created next. Next we come across Buddha, who has been described as the son of Buddhi. After this, we are introduced to the story of Nīllohita, i.e., Śiva—the Red one with the blue throat, who begot 1000 children. Now comes in Śrī as the daughter of Bhṛgu and wife of Viṣṇu.⁵ Sarasvatī, however, has been described as the wife of Pūrṇamāsa, as

1 Vide *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, 9th chap., 64-65 Verses.

2 B—Br. says: “*atha devāsurapitṛn manuṣyān oṣṇat prabhuḥ.*”

3 13th verse in the 10 Adhyāya.

4 37th verse in the 10 Adhyāya.

5 In Bali, she is also known as Śiva's wife. Vide *Verhandl. Bat. Genoot.*, deel XXII, p. 38; *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali.*

we find in the Indian recension.¹ Agni has been described as the son of Bhagavān Aṅgīra and Smṛti. The rain-god Parjanya is a scion of this dynasty.² The author of the Balinese recension then informs us that the Kṣatriya family of Daha or Kederi is descended from the holy Pulaha. Thus one of the Indonesian royal dynasties is traced to one *Devarṣi*.

The 7 divisions of the world given in the Bal. recension do not differ from those in the Indian recension. Only the Sanskrit Śākadvīpa has been corrupted into Sangkadvīpa. These names appear to be further changed in the book *Saptabhuvana*,³ where we come across "..... dipa, Jambudvīpa, Sangkadīpa, Salmadīpa, Gomendīpa, Samadvīpa and Kroṣadvīpa." We do not know from which sources the names of Gomendīpa and the Samadvīpa have been derived. These 7 divisions, however, came to be ruled over by the grandsons of Svayambhūva Manu—the 7 Manus, e.g. Savana, Jutimru, Vapusmanta, Medatiti, Gomeda, Avja and Agnindra,⁴ the last king being the ruler of Jambudvīpa. The sons of the last-mentioned Agnindra are, (a) Nabi, (b) Kimpurusa, (c) Harivarṣa, (d) Ilāvṛtta, (e) Ramyaka, (f) Hiranyaka, (g) Kuru, (h) Badra, and (i) Ketumāla. These names also occur in the Indian recension (34th chapter) with slight modifications, e.g. Nabi, Ramyaka, Hiranyaka and Badra of the Balinese recension are respectively Nābhi, Ramya, Hiraṇvān and Bhadrāśva of the Indian recension; others do not differ. These persons ruled over the 9 divisions of the Jambudvīpa. Nabi ruled over the Himahvavarṣa or the Himavāna region. The tract

1 29th chapter, 10-11 verses. In the old-Javanese *Vṛttasaṅcaya*, she is the wife of Brahmā.

2 Indian recension, 17th śloka of the 29th chapter.

3 Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie, p. 109 ff.

4 The Indian recension has 'Agnidhra.'

between the Himavāna and the Himakuṭa was ruled over by Kimpurusa. Harivarṣa was the sovereign of the Niṣāda-varṣa, which is to the east of the Himakuṭa and to the South of the Ilāvṛtta. Now this Ilāvṛtta has been described as the highest point at the Middle of the earth and was lorded over by Ilāvṛtta. Ramyaka governed the region, which is to the North of the Ilāvṛtta, and the Nīlaparvata, and which bears his name. The region to the North of the Svetaparvata, the Śetavarṣa of the Indian recension, was known as the Hiranyakavarṣa and Hiranyaka was its master. The celebrated Kuruvarṣa, situated to the North of the Śṛṅgavān was the dominion of Kuru. Badravarṣa, which corresponds to the Mālyavānavarṣa¹ of the Indian recension, was ruled over by Badra—the Bhadrāśva of the Indian *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*. It lies to the West of the Mañjavāl² and to the East of the Meru. The last of the sons—Ketu-māla—ruled over the region, which is to the East of the Gandhamādana and to the West of the rest of the Varṣas. This is the Gandhamādanavarṣa of the Indian recension.

Of all these rulers, Nabī is the overlord. By his wife Manudevī, he begot 25 sons.³ Svayambhūva Manu further created 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas, 8 Vasus, 12 Sādias, 10 Viśvadevas, 2 Sanggis (?), 12 Bhārgavas, etc. Our author then gives an account of the duration of life in relation to the *yugas*. He says that men would live 188 years in the Kṛeta, 147 in the Tretā, 126 in the Dvāpara, and 84 in the Kali Yuga. Then comes in the description of chaos, in which alone Manu was saved and he,—not Brahma, created 1 Deva, 1 Rṣi, 1 Asura, 1 Pitr, 1 Manuṣya, 1 Bhuta, 1 Piśāca, 1 Gandharva, 1 Yakṣa and 1 Rākṣasa. After the descrip-

1 Vide *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, 34th chap.

2 Mālyavān of the Indian recensions.

3 The Indian recension has his wife as Marudevī and his only son is Rṣava, who is the originator of the Kṣatriyas.

tion of this chaos, we find an account of the four *Āśramas*, viz., *Brahmācārī*, *Gr̥hastha*, *Wekānasa* (or *Vānaprastha*) and *Yati*.

Some Indian scholars have thought that the date of the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* is c. 500 A.D. It ought to be clearly understood that the earliest reference to the Bal. recension occurs in the old-Javanese *Ādiparvan*,¹ which was probably composed in the 10th century A.D. All that we can say at the present moment is that it existed in the 10th century A.D., and to push back the date to the 5th century A.D. would be rather premature. It had also a *Kakawin* recension of 18 songs.

There are reasons to believe that, besides the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, the Indian *Viṣṇupurāṇam* was also present in Java and Bali in the Indo-Javanese period. This appears to us to be due to the fact that the story of *Veṇa* and *Niṣāda*'s birth as given in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam* does not materially differ from the account of the Balinese recension of the Indian *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*. Besides, the accounts of the *Kakawin Kalayavanāntaka* seem to have been borrowed from the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*; some reliefs at *Caṇḍi Jago* also tally with the accounts of the same work. Sometimes, the genealogical portions of the Javanese *Ādiparva* tally with the lists of the Indian *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, and not with similar portions of the Indian *Ādiparvan*, as Dr. Hazeu points out.² These reasons confirm our suspicion that the book was once present in Indonesia, and has subsequently been lost.

1 Cf. the statement: "anak Sañ Romāharsana, sira siddha winch manajya Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa mwañ Aṣṭādaśaparvā . . ."

2 'Oudjavaansche Adiparwa en Zijn Sanscrit origineel' in 'Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V. N. Indie, deel XLIV, 1901, p. 332.

CHAPTER III.

SACRED LITERATURE, *Contd.*—SOME OTHER WORKS OF PAURĀNIC CHARACTER

In this category we shall discuss some other theological works, which describe the nature and process of the Hinduistic and the Buddhistic rituals. They sometimes discuss the cosmos, myths of creation, the view of life in general, ideas of the next world and all such things which have direct bearing upon the religion of the peoples. It ought to be noted that some of the Buddhist works of this category show unmistakable signs of Śaivite theology and *vice versa*. Of these books, we shall first take up the Śaivite *Bhuvanakoṣa*, which means the 'treasure of the world' !

The book is divided into 10 chapters, called *Paṭalas*. The first 5 *paṭalas* form the nucleus of the Brahmarahasya, the sixth *paṭala* is known as the Jñāna-siddhānta-śāstram. Bhasma-mantra-sakala-vidhi-śāstram is the name of the 7th *paṭala*, and the 8th one goes by the name of Jñāna-sam-kṣepa-nāma-śāstram. The remaining two have got no special name. Dr. Goris says that it may be regarded as a counterpart of the Buddhist *Sang Hyang Kamahūyānikan* and that it belongs to the Tāntric literature of the Siddhānta School. There are many Sanskrit ślokas, followed by an old-Javanese prose translation. The work clearly betrays some Paurāṇic influences, and Dr. Goris has compared a few citations from the *Bhuvanakoṣa* and the *Agnipurāṇam* to show the similarity of both. The verse, e.g. "Iti Bhuvana-sāniddhya-nāma śāstra, Brahmarahasyam, prathamah paṭalah" in the book under review may be compared with "Iti Āgneye Mahāpurāṇe jyotiḥśāstrasāro nāma ... eka-viṃsaty = adhikaśatataṃ" =

dhyāyah” of the *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 121. Similarly, “Iti Bhasma-mantra-sakala-vidhi-śāstram dvitīyah paṭalaḥ” in the *Bhuvanakoṣa* may be compared with “Iti ādimahāpurāṇe Āgneye snāna-vidhi-kathanam nāma dvāvīṃśo’ = dhyāyah” at the end of the 22nd chapter of the *Agnipurāṇam*. It may be remarked, however, that many non-Paurāṇic works also contain these characteristics. Let us now see how the Śaivite *Bhuvanakoṣa*¹ presents the whole theme :—

“Avighnam as tu :

Sasanggraha kārī sira movus, lingnira :

(1) Praṇamya, Śīrase (Śīrasā ?), Deva, vākyaṃ
munir amanmatha
Devadeva, Mahādeva, Parameśvara,
Śaṅkara

Śrī muni Bhārgava, sira mahyun tumakwanakên ikang pada nirbāṇa ri bhaṭāra, mangkana pwābhiprāyanira, manambah ta sira ri bhaṭāra, “sirasā”, makakāraṇa hulunira sira, ri télasnira manambah, mojar ta sira : he “Devadeva”, kita deva ning devatā kabeh, he “Mahādeva”, kita Bhaṭāra Mahādeva ngaranta, he “[Mahesvara]”, kita Bhaṭāra Mahesvara ngaranta, he “Śaṅkara”, kita ta Bhaṭāra Śaṅkara ngaranta.”

The English rendering² of the above Sanskrit verses and Javanese annotations thereof may be stated as follows :—

“Let there be all peace !³

Conceiving all, he (Bhārgava) said the following :

(1) After bowing down his head before the Deva, the ascetic spoke the words : “O God, God of gods, great God, highest Master, O Bliss-bestower.....”

1 Text in Goris, ‘Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,’ p. 77.

2 Based on the Dutch translation of Dr. Goris.

3 ‘Om avighnam astu’ generally comes in every Javanese work, religious as well as secular.

The Javanese commentator then continued and explained the above thus: The ascetic Bhārgava requested the Master to describe the state of Nirvāṇa, this was his purpose; he made a salutation by bending low before the Master, "Śirasā"—this he did by the middle of his head. After his worship, said he, "Devadeva", i.e. you are the God of all gods; "Mahādeva", i.e., you Master, Mahādeva is Thy name; "[Maheśvara]", (the Skt. has Parameśvara) you Master, Maheśvara is Thy name; "Śaṅkara", You Master, Śaṅkara is Thine epithet, and so forth.

The first chapter also speaks of Śūnyaśiva,¹ ṣoḍaśavikāra etc. Our author informs us that there are five different colours in the heart, viz., rakta, trivaṇṇa, asita, dīpta, and sphaṭika, and these different hues have been described as the attributes of Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, Sādhyā, Vāmadeva, and Īśāna.² The author next points out and quite in accordance with the theories of Indian philosophy that the identification of the individual soul with Īśāna or Śiva (*Śivūtmaka*) leads one to Mokṣa or Nirvāṇa, which is the ultimate goal of life. The process of knowing the self (*ātmanam viddhi*), which culminates at last in a spiritual fellowship with God is not only to be met with in the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* etc., but also in the *Saiva-Siddhānta*.³ These evolutionary steps for the realisation of God have been set forth in the (a) tattva rūpa (b) tattva darśana (c) tattva śuddhi (d) ātmarūpa (e) ātma darśana

1 As *śūnya* has no change, so also Śūnyaśiva has no change; he is *nirvikāra*.

2 According to the Tantras of the Hindus, names of the seven faces of Śiva are Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Īśvara, Nilakaṇṭha and Caitanya. Of these, the last-mentioned two are not visible and hence, Śiva is generally known as Pañcavaktra or the five-faced one. It is probable that the Javanese epithet Sādhyā corresponds to the Indian Sadyojāta.

3 Vide *Saivasiddhānta*, Daśakāryāṇi.

(f) ātmaśuddhi (g) Śivarūpa (h) Śivadarśana (i) Śivayoga and (j) the Śivabhoga.

The fifth stage, which corresponds to the 8th sūtra of the *Śivajñānavodhaṇ*, lays down, "When the *mala* (sins etc.) decreases gradually and the soul advances in virtue and knowledge, there is a greater and greater effulgence of the divine grace in it; when the soul has sufficiently advanced in virtue and knowledge, charity and faith, the Lord appears and instructs". In this stage, the *ahaṇ-jñānaṇ*, i.e., the conceptions of I-ness and My-ness gradually vanish along with the darkness of *avidyā*. When this vanity of Self is annihilated, the individual soul remains in communion with the universal soul, and this has been expressed here by the phrase '*Śivūtmaka*'.¹ It is, no doubt, one of the highest ideals of Indian philosophy, but in the hands of Tāntricians, it has often led to the grossest abuses.

The second chapter introduces us to some details of the three worlds. The Javanese author, who certainly borrowed these ideas from the ancient Paurāṇic literature of India, has developed his idea in the light of the Indian explanation. The Javanese commentator, however, has further supplemented the list of these three worlds with an account of the different *lokas*. He says that Brahmā, who is identical with Tatpuruṣa, is the ruler of the Mahā-loka and Janaloka is sustained by Viṣṇu or Sādhya. Similarly, the Tapaloka is the place of Vāmadeva. The highest heaven, however, is the Satyaloka, which is Rudra's place and has been placed in the *Kaṇṭhamūla*. The other

1 Cf. an interesting parallel from the Egyptian 'Chapters of Coming Forth by Day,' commonly known as the Book of the Dead:—

"I am Prince in the Field,

I am Osiris,

I am Horus and Ra,

One with Osiris—"

Mark Van Doren, *An Anthology of World Poetry*, p. 206.

places have been located in the navel. The human frame has been compared here to a whole world, in different regions of which the gods are living. This perhaps corresponds to the *patamukti*-heavens of Hindu philosophy, which have been placed in what is called the *stūpaprāsūda* by Javanese theologians.

The third chapter deals at some length with the *Tattva*-philosophy of the Sāṃkhya School. In the *Pātañjala-darśanam*, there are twenty-six *Tattvas*, including the *Īśvara-tattva*. They are *prakṛti*, *mahat*, *ahaṅkāra*, *pañcatanmātra* (i.e. *śabda*, *sparsa*, *rūpa*, *rasa*, *gandha*), *pañcājñānendriya*, *pañcakarmendriya*, *manas*, *pañcamahābhūta* and *puruṣa*. In the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*¹ these have been resolved into four classes according to their general characteristics :—

*"Mūla-prakṛtir = avikṛtir = mahad = ādyāḥ prakṛti-
vikṛtayaḥ sapta
Sodāśakās = tu vikāro na prakṛtir = na vikṛtiḥ
puruṣaḥ"*

Prakṛti is the material cause and *vikṛti* is the effect. Defined by its nature, *prakṛti* cannot be derived from any other primary factor. Contrarily, that which is derived from an ultimate material cause is called *vikṛti*, e. g. *mahattattva*, *ahaṅkāra* and *pañcatanmātra*. Here *ahaṅkāra* has been obtained from *mahat*; therefore, the former is the *vikṛti* of the latter, which is the source of *ahaṅkāra*. In the present example, *mahat* is the *prakṛti*. *Pañcamahābhūta* and eleven *Indriyas* are *vikṛti* in as much as they have been derived from a primary source. But when any one of them, being in itself the effect of a primary cause, produces a new result, it is

¹ Vide *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, 3.

to be known as *prakṛti-vikṛti*. Puruṣa, it should be noted here, is neither prakṛti nor vikṛti—it is called *anubhaya-rūpa*, i.e. differing from the both *in toto*. The implications of some of these abstruse tattvas have found place in our book, which further offers an exposition of the five elements of nature, e.g. ākāśa, vāyu, agni, salila and mahī—the ‘*Kṣity—ap—tej—marud—vyoma*’ of Sanskrit literature. The author also describes the *Dvūdaśatattva*, viz., the *tattvas* of Rudra, Puruṣa, avyakta, buddhi, ahaṅkāra, pañcatanmātra, (taken as one), manas, ākāśa, vāyu, agni, āpaḥ and pṛthivī, which, as stated before, belong to the Sāṃkhya School of thought.

The author thinks that the essence of the Tāntric Siddhāntaśāstra has been concisely set forth in the 6th chapter called Jñānasiddhāntaśāstram. The *Śivajñāna Siddhiar*, which is one of the fourteen Śaiva *Siddhānta-śāstras*, seems to contain the gist of the pretentious 6th chapter. It says¹: “The reason of the functioning of God is to make the souls get rid of their *mala* (i.e. sins) and attain *mukti* or salvation. The souls are born in ignorance and when they obtain wisdom, they obtain *mukti*”. Our text opens with the following corrupt Sanskrit śloka² :—

“Om Giraiśvaryāya namaḥ

1. Kiṃ punaḥ janma mohaśca, na jñānaḥ
na kṛtodhanaḥ
na śilo na vayastapaḥ.
2. Tena jñānena he Skandha, vṛddha-vṛddhatara
smṛtaḥ
na dīrgha nāsubhīḥ keśo, na svetaḥ rūpa-
jātibhīḥ
3. Sarva-śāstram adhiyita, tyajanti, jñānam
uttamam
Jñānawwāpi na vindeta, aho mayā vimohitaḥ

1 Vide Śivajñāna Siddhiar, Sūtra I, 36.

2 Text in ‘Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,’ p. 84.

- 4 (a) Sarvaśāstrasya yatparam
 4 (b) Siddhāntajñānaṃ uttamaṃ
 4 (c) Āditya mānava loke
 4 (d) Saphalan tasya jīvitam
 5 (a) Ihātra ca Mahādevī
 5 (b) Parātra Śivatām brajet
 5 (c) Evaṃ etāni yuktāni
 5 (d) Na sandēho varānane
 6a—b Evaṃ etāni sarvāni, vacanāni suputrakaḥ
 6c—d Evaṃ jñānaṃ Mahādevī, [na] prakāśātita
 tatvavit.
 7a Rahasyan nirataḥ tvayā
 7b Pañca-pada dhanam yadi
 Iti jñāna-siddhānta-śāstram prathamah
 paṭalaḥ.

So far as we see, these verses do not explain in any way the so-called "essence" of the Siddhāntajñānaṃ. Though the author of this book assures us that one who masters this "*Siddhāntajñānaṃ uttamaṃ*" will undoubtedly go to 'Śiva-loka' (or become *Śivātmaka*) and shine forth like 'Āditya' (Sun) in this mānava-loka (i.e. this mortal world) as long as he lives, the writer does not take any trouble to explain the nature of this philosophy in this chapter. The next chapter, however, gives us some idea of the Svargalakṣaṇam; but it must be admitted that the notions explained herein are not the peculiar monopoly of the Śaiva sect alone. Let us have some samples of these verbal gymnastics. For clear exposition, we shall sometimes use diagrams.

The introductory portion of this chapter presents some idea of the Hindu Trinity in the three phases of *Utpatti*, *Sthiti* and (*Pra*)*ṇa*—in each of which the dominating figures are respectively Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara. These three phases of the world-process are explained in terms of the Praṇava mantra, which is $a + u + m = aum$. In this theo-

logical work, each letter of this Praṇava mantra has been represented by a vindu,¹ so that we get three vindus in all. The first vindu which corresponds to Brahmā, remains responsible for *utpatti* or creation; the second vindu or Viṣṇu is responsible for *sthiti* or preservation, and the third or Īśvara for (*Pra*)*līna*, i.e. destruction. The Praṇava, which has obtained such importance in the Javanese and Balinese theology, is at the root of Indian mantras. Many Hindus believe that before the creation of the world-order, there was the existence of only the Praṇava-mantra, which represented the sound of a great *śūnyatā*. It may be that for this reason every mantra begins with *aum* and it occupies such a high place in Indian theology. The significance of the Praṇava-mantra seems to have been realised by the Balinese peoples, who accepted it as a part of their theology.

Now, our author tells us that these three gods of the Trinity alternately assume the rôle of Prakṛti, Puruṣa and Son and remain responsible for the world-order. As the praṇava mantra has been co-ordinated to the Trinity, the elimination of a factor from any one of them would necessarily bring the world to an *impasse*; because, it cannot move without the sustaining forces. The alternate functions of the Trinity may be elaborated with the help of some diagrams :—

1 Vindu, Śakti and Śiva occupy as important a position in the Tāntric literature of Southern India as Pati, Paśu and Pāśa occupy in the Kāśmīriya *Saivāgama* or *Trikasiddhānta*. This vindu has been described as “*jāyate 'dhvā yataḥ śuddho vartate yatra liyate*.”

Sa vindu paranādākhyo nādavinduvānukāraṇam.”

It has been referred to in many Tantras of India. According to *Prapañcasāra*, it has three forms, viz., Sthūla, Sūkṣma and Para. In Tāntric literature, they are generally known as vindu, nāda or vīja. This *nāda-vindu-tattva* or the philosophy of nāda-vindu was equally well-known among the Tāntricists of Java and India and has been referred to in many places of Indo-Javanese theology.

- (a) Brāhmā ca prakṛti viddhi } Trividhaṃ svarga-mokṣadam
 Viṣṇuḥ puruṣa eva ca
 Īśvaraḥ putra eva ca
- (b) Viṣṇutpatti mahādevi } Trividhaṃ svargalakṣaṇam
 Īśvaraḥ puruṣeva ca
 Brāhmā putrastu
 samvidhaṃ
- (c) Pradhānaṃ Īśvaraṃ proktaṃ } Etat Tribhedalakṣaṇam
 Brāhmā puruṣāeva ca
 Viṣṇuḥ putras tathaiva ca

Thus we see that the 'Trinity' performs some allocated functions alternately for the creation, preservation and destruction of the worlds. The whole idea of the Javanese theologian may probably be brought forward in the following diagram :—

A = Eka vindu = Brahmā = Bhūh-loka¹

U = Dvi vindu = Viṣṇu = Bhuvah-loka

M = Tri vindu = Īśvara = Svah-loka.

Therefore, A + U + M symbolise Trinity in the threefold aspect of *utpatti*, *sthiti* and (*Pra*)*līna*. It is to be noted, however, that the fixity of the Praṇava mantra does not tally with the alternate functions of the Trinity. In Hindu theology also, *aum* has been recognised as the supreme Brahma.²

It will thus appear that the book is primarily a Śaivite one, which has accepted some doctrines of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, e.g., the notions of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa*. We should observe, however, that the author of this book has made some confusion over the main principles of the two wings of the Sāṃkhya School. The great Vedāntist philosopher Śaṅkarācārya, who has classified the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya system, maintains that Kapila was responsi-

1 Cf. "Akāras=tv=atha bhūr=loka ukāro bhuva ucyaṭe
 Savyaśājan=omkāraś=ca svar=llokaś=ca vidhīyate"

Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam, 19/9.

2 Cf. Kāthopaniṣad, 1/16.

ble for offering an exposition of the *Nirīśvara Sāṃkhya*, while the *Sesvara Sāṃkhya* was enunciated by Patañjali. According to Kapila, salvation has to be obtained through knowledge; according to Patañjali, through *yoga*. The book under review, which has accepted the Trinity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśvara, cannot be included in the *Nirīśvara Sāṃkhya* school of Kapila, which seeks emancipation by knowledge. As it has, again, laid stress on '*jñānaṃ uttamaṃ*' in the 6th chapter, it inclines to the school of Kapila rather than to Patañjali.

We shall now describe the next important work, viz. the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa* or the 'Synopsis of the world'. The title of the book is a pretentious one and the work, also Śaivite, opens with '*Avighnaṃ astu namo Śivāya*.' Like the *Bhuvanakoṣa* of the Siddhānta School, it is also divided into chapters, interspersed with many Sanskrit verses, followed by old-Javanese translation. The verbal wrangles over Praṇava, Vindu, Omkāra, etc., which also crop up abundantly in the Paurāṇic literature, are also some of the peculiarities of this work. In it, Umā and Kumāra seek instructions from Īśvara i.e. Śiva. The most important section of this book is the famous piece called *Paramatattva*, which runs thus ¹ :—

- (1) Na, bhūmi, nā, jalaṃ, vyāpiḥ, nā, tejo, nā
cchā, marutaḥ
Nā, Sūryā, na, Candra, śceva, nā, kaśata
rajas thataṃ
Siddhyāning Sang Hyang sūkṣma ikā
(2) Uddha jñāne, na, mokṣaṇcā, suddha
līlāmprayotmakā,
Śuddha sūkṣmāntare yogī, akaśambuhu
nirmalaṃ,
Siddhyān Sang Hyang sūkṣmatara ikā

¹ Text in Goris, 'Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie' pp. 96 ff.

- This is perhaps the most important passage in the whole work and it offers an exposition of the author's notion of the *Grand Voidness*, which he has described as *Mokṣa*. When there is neither Sun, Moon, earth, water, spirit, nor the deities of the Trinity, or, when the different senses of the human body are non-existent,—when everything is void, having no existence of time and space—that condition has been described as *Mokṣa*. A Hīnayānist would also say in the same strain, though less emphatically, that, after the present life there would be no rebirth and that 'on the dissolution of the body, beyond the end of his life, neither gods nor men shall see him'.[†] An almost similar description of the physical world

1 Vide *Brahmajālasutta*, translated by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II. p. 54; cf. also *Sāmañña-phala Sutta* in *Ibid.*, p. 93.

may be seen in the *Śūnyapurāṇa* before the revelation of Nirañjana. But the fact that this Mokṣa is possible in spite of the gods of the Trinity perhaps constitutes a new departure in the Śaiva theology of Java. The Hindu idea of Mokṣa seems to absorb the individual soul into the universal one, just as the air of a broken pot inevitably mixes with the all-pervading air. The Javanese author takes this 'universalism' in the sense of a great nihilistic *Śūnyatā*, which appears to be an exotic re-colouring of the Indian Vedāntism. Though *Śūnya-Brahma* has occupied a prominent place in Indo-Javanese theology, our Śaiva author has boldly pressed the idea much forward by declaring that this *Śūnyatā* is above everything else in the world—even above time, space, and the gods.

The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* is a manual of the Mantrayānist school. The system of Vajrayāna or the cult of Buddhist Tāntricism had permeated Javanese society and it owed its origin to the above-mentioned wing of the Northern church. Generally, the Tantras of the Hindus have been described as expounded by Lord Śiva, while those of the Buddhists owe their main inspiration to Vajrasattva Buddha. It should be noted, however, that the principal characteristics of Tantras belonging to the Śaiva and Buddhist schools of thought do not materially differ from one another. While Śiva and Kālī occupy a prominent position in Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism, the same status has been vouchsafed to Vajraḍāka and Vajraḍākinī, two most outstanding figures in the school of Buddhist Tāntricism.¹ In the Tāntric literature, we come across frequent references to pañcamakāra,² amāvasyā, śukravāra, public women, unmarried girls, etc.,

1 An account of the development of Buddhist Tāntricism may be seen in Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 129 ff.

2 Madya, māṇsa, matsya, mudrā and maithuna.

who are deemed necessary for achieving the objects of the worship. The cult has recruited numerous votaries from the Indo-Tibeto-Mal-Polynesian peoples and is still a very powerful factor in a considerable portion of South-east Asia.

The Tantra-literature and Tāntric god-heads have been referred to in many important *Kawi*-works of Java. The celebrated Javanese chronicle *Nāgarakṛtāgama* says¹ :—

“*Ndan ri wrddhi nireki matra rumegep*
Sarwwakriyādhyātmika |
Mukhya’ñ tantra Subhūti rakwa tinenöt
kempen rasanye hati—”

i.e. a thorough study of all these subjects (*Tarkavyākaraṇā-dīśāstra*)² enabled him (Kṛtanāgara, 1268-1292 A.D.) to penetrate into the inmost of men’s hearts and he particularly mastered the *Subhūti Tantra*, whose contents he committed to memory.

Kern says³ that in the list of the Mahāyānist works in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, the name of the book does not occur. Though this is merely a negative proposition, still it is permissible to think that the book might have been present in India before 1365 A.D., which is the date of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. Many kings of Java were also adepts in Tāntric cults and it has been stated that they had mastered various processes of samādhi, yoga, the different pāramitās etc. Some idols of Tāntric deities have also been discovered near Tumpang, which, while corroborating literary evidences, may demonstrate the great sway of Tāntricism in Indonesia during the 13th century. Thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be regarded as the most brilliant periods of Javanese Tāntricism.

1 Song 43, 1st two verses of the third strophe. My translation is based on Kern’s Dutch translation.

2 Referred to in the second strophe, song 43.

3 Bijdragen T. L. Vrk., deel 63 (7, IX), 1910, pp. 10 ff.

The book under review—the *Sang Hyang Kamahyānīkan*—has given us some details of the Buddhist Tāntricism that flourished in Java. It contains many Sanskrit slokas, which have been illuminated by old-Javanese commentaries. The book also refers to Vajracārya mahāgurus, the different pāramitās (e.g. śaṭpāramitā, caturpāramitā, daśapāramitā etc.), the pañcavāyu, the pañcadevī, etc. The part known as *Paramaguhya* does not contain any Sanskrit text, but it offers an exposition of the prāṇāyāma, the advayajñāna, the Vajrajñāna, the sapta-samādhi, and so on. The prāṇāyāma and its implications are derived from the Hindus, who have dealt with the subject in the *Agnipurāṇam*,¹ the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*,² the *Garuḍapurāṇam*,³ the *Līṅgapurāṇam*,⁴ and in many other theological treatises of ancient times. Even in some scriptural texts of the Javanese and the Balinese peoples, the process of the Indian prāṇāyāma has elaborately been described. The philosophy, however, of the advayajñāna and the Vajrajñāna, which the author takes great care to explain, was set down to unravel the mysteries of the unchangeable Eternal One, who is beyond positive and negative and incomprehensible in all manifestations. A true knowledge of this Changeless One and the Nihilistic Voidness or Vajra,—which are essentially inter-related—enables one to annihilate the 'self' or 'ego,' or set it in eternal release, which is Mokṣa or Nirvāṇa. In the *Chūṇḍogyopaniṣad*⁵ we read :—

“*Saḥ yaḥ ākāśaṁ Brahmaṇi upāste*”

i.e., He who worships the ākāśa as Brahma. Though this idea does not rank highest in Indian philosophy, it serves to show the strange communion in the theological ideals of

1 *Agni-pur.*, Chap. 372

2 *Brah-Pur.*, Chap. 10.

3 *Gar-Pur.*, Chap. 238.

4 *Līṅga-Pur.*, Chap. 8.

5 *Chūṇḍogyopaniṣad*, 7/12/2.

the Indo-Javanese peoples. In order to initiate peoples into the mysteries of this noble philosophy, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāvānikan* has been written as a manual of the Vajrācāryas,¹ and the author of the book recommends it to those who are "in the maṇḍala, and only who are faithful". In order to allure others, our author says that the Buddhas who had been and who will be, attain omniscience through the study of this Vajrayāna system—the noblest of all systems.

In this book, the Buddhas have been classified into several groups :—

(a) Atīta-Buddha : Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa ; (b) Anāgata-Buddha : Maitreya and Samantabhadra ; and lastly, (c) Vartamāna-Buddha, who is no other than Śākyamuni.

It is to be noted, however, that where the Mānuṣī-Buddhas have been mentioned, the names of Vipāśyī and Viśvabhū do not occur ; but they have not been omitted in the list of the Atīta Buddhas.² Of the Future Buddhas, as Dr. Juynboll points out, Maitreya has generally been placed in the category of the Mānuṣī-Buddha, while Samantabhadra has been grouped under the Dhyānī Bodhisattva.³

Of the six pāramitās,⁴ prajñā has been defined in a Sanskrit śloka :—

“Yāvanti sarva-vastūni daśa-dīk-saṃsthitāni ca
Tāni śūnya-svabhāvāni prajñāpāramitā(h) smṛtāḥ⁵

¹ The Vajrācāryas are also mentioned in the Nāgarakṛtāgama, e.g., Kavajradharāṇa or followers of Vajrayāna in songs LXXVII, LXXX etc.

² Vide Gruenwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 169 ; Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 350, 346 etc., quoted by Dr. Juynboll in *Bijdragen T. L. Vk.*, 7th series VI, p. 58.

³ *Bijdragen T. L. Vk.*, 7th series VI, p. 58.

⁴ Dāna, Śīla, Kṣānti, Virya, Dhyāna and Prajñā.

⁵ Vide Juynboll, *Cod.* 5068 in *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS.*, vol II, pp. 278 ff.

The last verse is important, because it defines the ultimate nature of the highest prajñā as *śūṇyatā*. After discussing the six pāramitās our author introduces us to the subject of the four pāramitās, e.g. maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā. Of these, the first knows the *tattva* of Locanā, the second of Māmakī, the third and the fourth respectively mention the *tattva* or philosophy of Pāṇḍaravāsini and Tārā. These four are known as the spouses of the four Bodhisattvas, viz. Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara, and Viśvapāṇi. The author then gives some details of the four *yogas*, which are mūlayoga, madhyayoga, vasānayoga and antayoga and in the same breath describes the four bhāvanās, and the four ārya-satyas. Some points of iconographic interest would now arrest the attention of readers. The descriptions of some mudrās of Śākyamuni, besides the names of trikhala, tri-ratna and pañcabhūta, have been explained by our writer, who says that Śākyamuni is white and his mudrā is the *Dhvajamudrā*; that Lokeśvara is red, and his mudrā is the *Dhyānamudrā*; that Vajrapāṇi is blue and his mudrā is the *Bhūṣpaṇḍarāmudrā*. These three Tathāgatas are respectively connected with the three Ratnas, viz., Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha. We are further informed that Vairocana originated from Śākyamuni, Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava from Lokeśvara, while Vajrapāṇi is responsible for the incarnation of Amitābha and Amoghasiddha.¹ These five worthies form the group of the Pañcatathāgatas and their respective *Śaktis* are Bharālī Dhātviśvarī, Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍaravāsini and Tārā, who are, so to speak, the active producing principle or female energy of the male, who symbolises the supreme soul of the universe. It should be noted, however, that in Java, the five Dhyānibuddhas are also known as *Jinas* and they differ only in the position of their hands. Of the above-

1 Waddell, *Lamaism*, see the table on p. 336.

mentioned divinities, Avalokiteśvara enjoys especial honour in Java. He is recognised by his spiritual father Amitābha, who, in iconography, is placed in a niche of his head-dress. With one hand, he makes the gesture of dispensing divine favour, and in the other, he holds a lotus-stem. The best example of it is perhaps the statue of Avalokiteśvara in the temple of Caṇḍi Mendut in central Java.

Some of the Upaniṣadas refer to *Akṣara-Brahma*¹ and *Akṣarapuruṣa*,² i.e. Akṣara, who is Brahman or Puruṣa. In the present work, this *Akṣarapuruṣa* has been localised in the human body. It is interesting to note, however, that the philosophical doctrines enunciated here and in some other parts of the book seem to have some kinship with the principles of the Advaita philosophy. The word '*Advaitam*' implies the existence of two things, in which a conception of identity has been developed, but a difference in substance is felt; it is apparently seen as two or *dvaitam*, but at the same time not two. This relation is called *Advaitam* or identity in duality, and the philosophy which describes this is called the *Advaita* philosophy and being the highest truth also, it is called the *Siddhānta*. This relation is particularly applicable to the intimate union of God with soul, which may be described in the language of the Upaniṣad.³

"*Hiraṇ = maye pare koṣe virajāṃ Brahma niṣkalaṃ* |

Tac = chubhram jyotiṣāṃ jyotis = tad yad = ātma—

vido viduḥ ||

In the *bhāṣya* of this śloka, '*koṣe*' has been explained as '*ātmani*' i. e. in the self. The Javanese author,

1 *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, 2/2/2; also *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, 3/15.

2 Vide *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, 2/1/1; here '*Akṣarāt*' is *Akṣara-puruṣāt* i.e. *Hiraṇyagarbhāt*.

3 *Ibid.*, 2/2/9.

also speaking in the same strain, declares that the Akṣara or Brahman resides in the *stūpaprāsāda* or the human body, co-existing with the soul. The idea is probably borrowed from our Siddhānta philosophy which states that the soul does not exist apart from God. This dependence, however, should not be taken to mean that soul and God is one and the same thing. The 11th sūtra of the Śivajñānavodhaṃ, a work of the Siddhānta school, for example, says, "Just like the soul, which by uniting with the eye makes the eye see objects by showing them to it, and itself sees, so the Lord by union with the soul makes the soul know and Himself knows. This Advaita knowledge and undying life will unite the soul to His feet." Dr. Goris thinks¹ that the details on mahāpuruṣa, pañcātma, pañcavāyu, rahasya and brahmakuṇḍa have greatly been oriented by Hindu ideas and there are reasons to believe, according to him, that the recension referred to as C, might be a Saivite re-colouring of a Buddhist original. He says further that the mention of Agastya as an authority seems to throw it into the vortex of a Buddhistic sphere.

The recension referred to as C by Dr. Goris, mentions Siṇḍok, who was the king of Meḍang in the first half of the 10th century A.D. One interesting reference is the name of Diñnāga, who might be a disciple of Asaṅga (6th century A.D.) and spiritual preceptor of Dharmapāla of Nalanda, who passed the last years of his life in Suvarṇadvīpa. Whoever he might be, we cannot regard that part very old merely on the ground that his name occurs there. We may, however, agree to the assumption of Dr. Goris that there were several strata in the growth of this work and the earliest part might have been something like a commentary on a Sanskrit text of about the 8th or 9th centuries of the Christian era, to which younger sections were added later on in, about or after, the reign of

1 Vide 'Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,' p. 155.

Siṇḍok. Dr. Juynbol thinks,¹ however, that the style of the work is similar to that of the old-Javanese *Ādiparvā*, which, we think, was written towards the close of the 10th century A.D. According to J. L. A. Brandes, J. Kats and some other scholars, it was composed in the Majapahit period (14-15th centuries). So, we see that linguistic evidences serve no useful purpose, the date oscillating like a pendulum between the 8th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. We may, perhaps, accept c. 1000 A.D. as a working hypothesis.

There are some other works, of which the *Brhaspati Tattva*, the *Saptabhuvana*, the *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* and the *Caturpakṣopadeśa* deserve some notice. The *Brhaspati Tattva* is an old-Javanese work, interspersed with some Sanskrit ślokas. In the beginning *Brhaspati* enquires of Bhaṭāra Īśvara about the nature of pradhāna, triguṇa, buddhi, ahaṅkāra, indriya, and pañcamahābhūta, and the significance of enjoyments that are derived from bhoga, upabhoga, and parābhoga. After giving proper answer to these questions, the Bhaṭāra explains what is meant by the 'aṣṭavidyāsanaś', i.e. ananta, sūkṣma, śiva-tama, ekarudra, ekanetra, trimūrti, śrīkaṇṭ(h)a and śikhāṇḍi. The author next introduces us to the implications and mysteries of the various Aṣṭasiddhis² and the pañcatanmātras.³ This book also mentions the names of some Śaivite sects like Pāśupata, (A)lepaka, etc. One interesting thing is that the name of Buddha has been used as a synonym for that of Śiva. One need not wonder, however, because we know that in Java there was the cult of Śiva-Buddha. It appears also that the systems of

1 Bijdragen T. L. V., 1916, p. 567.

2 Dāna, Adhyayana, Sabda, Tarka, Sohṛdam, Adhyātmika, Adidevika and Adibhotika duḥka. The Javanese author has made a confusion here; for the last three cannot be called *siddhis*.

3 *Sabda-sparśa-rūpa-rasa-gandha tanmātras*.

the Indian Tarkaśāstra or Logic were not unknown to our author, who mentions the *Triṣramāṇas* in pure Indian terminology, viz., (1) *Pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (syllogism), and *āgama* (i.e. tradition). Cod. 5128 ends : *Umapati. Sarasvatī Śrīya namas svāhā.*

The *Saptabhuvana*, however, is a peculiar work. It pretends to be an encyclopaedia of the 7 worlds, 7 dvīpas, 7 lokas, 7 seas, etc. In some places it touches the story of the soul's re-habitation in the different worlds. It seems to show that the old-Aryan belief in the Elysian fields of the different lokas—a very vague existence beyond the funeral pyre—was not lost upon the Indonesian peoples in the classical period of their history. But how far it is based upon the ancient Aryan belief and how much of it is based on Austric conception has yet to be carefully analysed. These Pitṛlokas and the Yamalokas are placed by the Indonesian peoples in some inaccessible and uninhabitable country,—in some neighbouring islands. The Dayak peoples place the land of their ancestors in some mountain-top. Where the Hindus have been rather abstract with these ideas, we find that the Indonesian peoples have generally thought in concrete.

Our book begins with—"This is according to the *Saptabhuvana* : in the East, there is the *saptagiri* ; in the South, the *saptāgni* ; in the West, the *sapta-aumkāra*¹ ; in the North, the *sapta-veda*² ; at the Zenith, the *sapta-loka*, and *sapta-pātāla* in the Nether-region".

The names of the 7 dvīpas, as given in the book, do not tally with those of the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and their Indian counterparts. They are (1).....dīpa, (2) Jambudīpa (3) Sangkadīpa (4) Salmadīpa (5) Gomen-dīpa (6) Samadvīpa and the (7) Krosadvīpa. The Jambu-

1 A+U+M+OM+Nāda+Vindū+Ardhacandra. The *Bhuvana koṣa* says: "*Niṣkale jāyate Nādaḥ, Nādāt Vindu Samudbhavaḥ.*"

2 It is not known.

dīpa is the Indian Jambudvīpa. The third name appears to be a corruption of the Śākadvīpa, while the fourth one is probably no other than the Sālmālidvīpa. The seventh name of the *Saptabhuvana* may also be the Indian Krauñcadvīpa. The remaining three great dvīpas, namely, the Puṣkaradvīpā, the Plakṣadvīpa and the Kuśadvīpa—which are frequently mentioned in the Indian literature—have either been misunderstood or the names have been derived by the author from a different source.

The book also mentions the seven lokas, viz. the Būhloka, the Bubāhloka, the Svaḥloka, the Mahāloka, the Janaloka, the Tampoloka and the Satyaloka. In connexion with the *Bhuvanaśa* of the Siddhānta school, we have seen previously how these different lokas have been localised in the human body. So is the case here also. These terms, however, are not unknown to Indian literature, which mentions them with some slight variations, e.g., we get Tapāhloka in the place of Tampoloka, and so on. The seven Nether-worlds, namely, Pātala, Nītala, Sūtala, Antala, Tala, Tala-tala, Mahātala similarly correspond to the Sanskrit Pātāla, Vītala, Sūtala, Atala, Rasātala, Talātala and the Mahātala.¹ Sanskrit Purāṇas have a different arrangement of these names.

The list of mountains as given in the book, betrays a crude geographical knowledge of the author. They have been mentioned in connexion with some abstract ideas over the placing of the holy *liṅga*. The Mandara mountain, for example, has been placed in the Eastern region; the Malyavān² in the South-east; the Vindhya in the South; the Revātaka in the South-west; the Tuhina in the West; the Gandhamādāna in the North-west; the Aila in the North and lastly, Himavān

1 Vide Goris. '*Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie*,' p. 112.

2 Mañjavāl of the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

has been placed in the North-eastern region. In India, there was once the custom of erecting liṅgas over the cremation-ground of a deceased religious preceptor or a saint "as though to proclaim to the world that the body buried below has attained to the sacred form of Śiva-liṅga".¹

There is no denying the fact that Śiva had a large number of votaries in South-east Asia. He has also been depicted in the bas-relief of Angkor Vat. In Cām iconography, we find him as a door-warden, maintaining the balance of his body against a club or gesticulating terribly. In Java, he is represented with four arms, three eyes, skull, serpent-girdle and a half-Moon in his diadem. In his beneficent qualities, he is known as Bhaṭāra Guru, while the Mahākāla form represents his destroying mood. Equally prevalent was the practice of worshipping Śiva in his liṅga form, which, like that of Cambodia, might be square, octagonal or cylindrical. It is placed upon a rich pedestal and the waste runnel of ablution-water sometimes passes through an elaborately carved-out serpent's head. It is no wonder, therefore, that the writer of this interesting *Kawi-work* should lay down some details regarding the worship of Śiva in his liṅga form. The book contains some Sanskrit ślokas and they have been annotated in pure old-Javanese.

There are some other works of this character, and of them, the *Tattva Sang Hyang Mahājñāna* ranks high in popular estimation. It belongs to the Tāntric school of thought, expounding the implications of liṅga-worship. The book contains some corrupt Sanskrit verses, followed by an old-Javanese translation. It is described in the form of a dialogue between Bhaṭāra Guru (i.e. Śiva) and Kumāra, of whom the latter opens the philosophical discussion with

¹ Ann. Rep. Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, 1915-16, p. 34.

a query about the nature of the liṅga-worship. Regarding the abode of the deity, one corrupt Sanskrit couplet runs as follows¹ :—

*"Apsu² devo dvijātīnām, ṛṣīnām divi devataḥ
Śilākāntaṁca lokānaṁ, munīnām atmo devataḥ"*

i.e. the god of the twice-born resides in *tīrthas* and that of the *ṛṣis* in the firmament. 'Śilākānta' or the holy liṅga is the deity of the commoners, while *ātman* or the soul is the god of the *munis*. Here the author has not only drawn a distinction between 'muni' and 'ṛṣi,' which we generally use synonymously, but has also thrust a sharp wedge between 'dvijātīnām' on the one hand and 'muni-ṛṣi' on the other. Though the Javanese commentator does not explain this point, Dr. Goris is disposed to accept *ṛṣi* in the sense of an astrologer, which lends a more definite colour to the whole statement. It is interesting to note that towards the closing portion of the couplet, the Javanese author has re-echoed the philosophical ideas of "*ātmānaṁ viddhi*" and its further development in the *Kāthopanishad*³ and the *Taittirīyopanishad*,⁴ which exactly connote the meaning of the Javanese author. The book also mentions the *Prakṛti-puruṣa* doctrine of the Sāṃkhya philosophy.

The author describes his work as 'Mahāguhya,' 'mahā-kathāṁ' and 'mahātattvaṁ.' The eminent author's 'great philosophy,' however, has been written in corrupt language. As we possess only fragmentary pieces of it, no elaborate discussion on it is possible at the present moment.

1 Text in 'Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,' p. 100.

2 The Javanese Commentator has explained it by *tīrtha*.

3 1/2 and 1/3.

4 In the seventh *anuvāk* of the 2nd *vallī*, we come across the following: "*Tat=tv=eva bheyam viduṣo'hmanvānasya*," which may be explained as, 'God is a source of constant fear to the learned fools, who do not know the identity of soul and God.'

Caturpakṣopadeśa, though the name implies four, is really a discourse on the five pakṣas. By pakṣa the author understands 'spiritual orders.' The first pakṣa is called the Pṛthivī-pakṣa or Baśi, and the name of the second one is Bhujāṅga or the Āpahpakṣa. The name of the third pakṣa is Tejapakṣa. The Vāyupakṣa forms the fourth category, which has otherwise been called the Tyāga. The last one is called the Ākāśapakṣa. The author describes the different *tīrthas* and waterfalls, which have specially been mentioned as favourite haunts of Lord Śiva. Besides, the book also knows the implications and efficacy of *Udakatarpaṇa*, which is nothing but water-offering to various deities as a mark of homage, prayer and respect. With this book, we come to a close of our discussion of one section of the so-called Vedic literature of Indonesia; in the next, we shall proceed with some mantras and charms, which have been designed to procure happiness in this world and in the next.

A general review of the works we have discussed before will show that the largest number of books belonging to the Paurāṇic literature of Java have more or less been influenced by Tāntricism. A robust tone of Śaivism, and not Vaiṣṇavism, has also controlled the philosophical discussions to a very great extent. Though there are many mantras and charms which may be attuned to Vaiṣṇava philosophy, this religion has never been of sufficient importance to leave a more pronounced impress on the literature of the Javanese and the Balinese peoples. It is only in the Kediri records of the eleventh century A.D. that we notice a strong Viṣṇuite tinge. It is also reflected in the literature of the epoch of king Tjitjatih, who flourished towards the beginning of this century. A careful analysis of the names of the Javanese kings will also demonstrate the influence of this religion. We shall have to admit, however, that in comparison with other sects, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism on the sacred and secular literature of Java

and Bali dwindles into insignificance. Now the problem is, from what region of India was this Vaiṣṇavism of the 11th century derived? What is the reason behind the sudden effervescence of this cult?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to review the position of Bhāgavatism in India before the 11th century A.D. Though the Ghosundi, Besnagar and Nānāghāt inscriptions¹ prove the existence of Bhāgavatism in India in the early Christian centuries, the cult does not appear to have made much headway in the pre-Gupta period. With the emergence and patronage of the Imperial Guptas, it soon developed into a religious force in central India. By the 8th century A.D., however, it shifted its activities to the Tamil countries of the South. Śaṅkarācārya, the great Vedāntist philosopher, had once fiercely attacked the main principles of Bhāgavatism in his commentary on the Brahmasūtras,² but the cult obtained powerful patronage from the celebrated Ācāryas of South India, of whom Raṅganāthācārya was the famous founder of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect. After his death in 920 A.D., a new spirit was infused into the activities of the sect by Yamunācārya, who probably died in 1040 A.D. He was a prodigious philosopher of the early Vaiṣṇava school and forerunner of the great exponent of medieval Bhāgavatism, Rāmānuja.

Now, while the cult was making such progress in the South, the Pallava rulers were gradually declining in power till they were finally ejected by the Coḷas. Rājarāja the Great of this dynasty ascended the throne in 985 A.D. and pushed his conquests as far as Kāliṅga in the North and Ceylon in the South. His son, Rājendra Coḷa (1012-1042 A.D.), the greatest king of this dynasty,

1 Vide Lüders, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Appendix, *Inscrs.*, Nos. 6, 669 and 112.

2 II, II, 42-45; Dr. H. C. Rāy Chaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 107. Further details in Lect. IV.

even invaded Bengal and conquered parts of the Malay peninsula and the little island of Sumatra. A Tamil inscription¹ of 1088 A. D., discovered in Sumatra, also points to the existence of a brisk trade-relation among these peoples in the South-East seas. When we think together that South India was the most active centre of contemporary Vaiṣṇavism, that there was a close relation between the Tamil countries of the South and Indonesia, and that Rājendra Coḷa had conquered the little island of Sumatra, there is a plausible ground for supposing that they would naturally afford a good scope to the enterprising Vaiṣṇava sect to seek new converts beyond the seas. It is also noteworthy that the region of Java which is easily approachable from Sumatra shows first signs of Vaiṣṇavism after the Śaivite revival of 863 A.D. As Śaiva doctrine predominated in contemporary Sumatra, Vaiṣṇava missionaries naturally diverted their energies to W. Java. Muhammadanism, it may also be noted, spread to Java through the Northern coast of Sumatra.

The cause of Vaiṣṇavism was thus promoted in Java, but the cult never became as popular as Buddhism and Śaivism. It is probably due to the fact that the main doctrines of Vaiṣṇavism, viz.—ahimsā, ignoring caste-distinctions, solicitude for the lower classes and untouchables, are generally covered by the articles of Buddhism, which had already built up a tradition in Indonesia and the surrounding countries. The small influence which it exerted on the broad cultural life of the Indonesian peoples and their literature is, therefore, the natural consequence of historical facts, which we have sought to explain above. Let us now revert from this digression to the subject of literature.

It will be patent to careful observers that the style of writing in many theological works of Java and Bali

1 Vide Hultzsch, Madras Epigraphy Report, 1892, p. 12.

strikingly reminds one of the characteristics of Indian Paurāṇic literature. The frequent use of Sanskrit verses was maintained throughout, we believe, with a view to sustain the effect of the sacred language of India. In mantras and charms, they have generally retained their comparatively pure style and form; because, corruption in them might spoil their usefulness and service, and this belief has probably served as a check to maintain their somewhat original form. When the Latin hymns were translated into English for conducting service in British churches, there was a huge commotion throughout the country; in superstitious and less advanced countries, therefore, the effect of the change of mantras and charms into pure native dialects may well be imagined. This constant fear for damaging the efficacy of the mantras by prostituting their forms has been greatly responsible for maintaining their comparative purity. For one thing, however, we must give sufficient credit to the Javanese authors, who have not over-burdened their theological works with tedious and grotesque details of ludicrous anecdotes, which have no main connexion with the development of the story proper. In the matter of choosing materials, Paurāṇic works of Java probably stand on a higher plane than their Indian counterparts, though in expounding philosophical doctrines they cannot aspire to the same glory.

CHAPTER IV.

SACRED LITERATURE, *Contd.*—THE SURYASEVANA, MANTRAS AND CHARMS

The *Sūryasevana* literally means the worship of Śiva as the Sun-god, i.e., Sūrya. The oldest nations of the world—the Egyptians, the Sumerians, the Elamites and the Indians, for example,—conducted their earliest liturgies in honour of the Sun-god, and some of the documents of the old world, e.g., the Book of the Dead, the Vedas, the Avesta, and the Papyri bear an eloquent testimony to the position held by the Sun-god in the daily life of the ancient peoples. Under the influence of growing Tāntricism, however, the Sun-god lost the glory of Vedic times and was gradually pushed off by Śiva, with whom he was eventually identified. In the *Agnipurāṇam*,¹ for example, we come across "*hṛt-padme Śiva-sūrya iti.*" Examples of this type also occur in the *Saura-* and the *Garuda-purāṇam*. Dr. Goris, who discussed the *Sūryasevana*, is of opinion that the cult of Śivāditya was a distinct feature of the Balinese rituals and in one of their *kūṭa*-mantras, we find the formula, "*Oṃ hrām hrīm sah parama-Śivādityāya namaḥ.*"² So we see that not only in India, but also in Indonesia, there was going on an effort on the part of interested sects to merge the identity of some deities in Lord Śiva, who, according to the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* was the "uppermost of all gods". It reminds us of the ancient Egyptian parallel, in which we notice the working of the process

¹ Chap. 73; Dr. Goris, '*Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie*,' p. 11.

² Goris, *op. cit.*

by which the Sun-god Ra gradually absorbed the attributes of all other satellite-godheads and appeared as the monotheistic Sun-god Aton in the reign of Ikhnaton. The only difference is that in Indonesia in spite of the working of a process towards monotheism, it was not established as a factor in the philosophy of religion. At any rate, the *Sūryasevana* must be regarded as a very interesting contribution to the study of Indonesian theology, which, as we shall see later on, was partly oriented by Brāhmaṇical Tāntricism.

The method of conducting service in the Tāntric and Paurāṇic schools contains some common features as well as some noteworthy differences. Both lay great stress on the purification of the body, which ensures the successful attainment of the goal in view. Similarly, the offerings meant for dedication to the deities have also to be purified in course of the service. In Tāntric worship, particular care is taken for wine and blood-offering to the deities concerned, though Brāhmaṇical yajñas can dispense with these things altogether. The followers of the Tāntric school, again, would generally worship in lonely places, the best place being a cemetery and the most opportune moment is an *amāvasyā* (pitch-dark) night, which would synchronise with Friday or Tuesday. The celebrated drama *Mālatīmādhavaṃ* offers in its fifth Act a graphic description of Tāntric worship conducted by the Kāpālīka Aghoraghaṇṭa, who had kidnapped Mālatī with a view to sacrifice her in a cemetery at dead of night. In such worship, wine is offered to the deities, if possible, in a human skull, and when the service is finished, wine, which is supposed to have been relished by the deity, is reverently distributed among the devotees. In purely Brāhmaṇical pujās, a priest of the first *varṇa* is necessary; in Tāntric rituals, it is not an absolute condition.

These are some of the external characteristics of Tān-

tric rituals. As regards the internal process of worship, we may base our observations on the famous *Kāmākhyā-tantra*. In some centres of East-Indian Tāntricism, a devotee carefully controls his five *indriyas* or sense-organs and, on an auspicious *tithi*, takes *dīkṣa* from a guru or spiritual preceptor. If a guru be not available, the image of one who commands the respect of the devotee is placed by imagination in the middle-point between the two eye-brows. And then a particular mantra is mumbled 100,000 times, which lends a motive-force or *cāitanya* to the uttered mantra. This *japa* or chanting of the mantra is preceded and followed by some rituals, known as the *kramapaddhati*. When the *japa* is finished, *setusutaka* and *prāṇāyāma* have to be performed.

Every principal mantra has to be regarded as emitting lights of perfect knowledge. This is called the *mantraśikhā*. The devotee convinces himself that these mantras are awakening the *Kulakuṇḍalinī*, which sweeps from the *mūlādhāra* to the *Brahmarandhra*. Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao¹ describes this in the following manner.¹ "This Śakti", says he, "may be conceived to be the personification of universal energy in the abstract. She resides in the macrocosm as well as in the microcosm. The discovery or development of Śakti or psychic energy in man is the aim of mantraśāstra."² The Śakti which resides in man and the development of which is one of the aims of the yogaśāstra is called Kuṇḍalinī Śakti. The place where it resides is called mūlādhāra and is understood to be at the lower extremity of the spinal cord. By a successful development and working of this Śakti at the mūlādhāra

1 Vide *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 327ff

2 It is not clear if this Mantraśāstra of Mr. Rao corresponds to mantraśikhā of the Kāmākhyātantra.

even the attainment of Mokṣa or the liberation of the soul is believed to become possible". In the human body, as is well known to Indian theologians, there are six plexuses called *Ṣaṭcakra*. The first, as referred to previously, is called the *mūlādhāra-cakra*, which is the most important plexus. The second one is known as the *Śivādhiṣṭhānacakra*, which corresponds to the prostatic plexus. The third one is called the *Manipūrakacakra*, which seems to be identical with the epigastric plexus. The fourth one is called the *Anāhata-cakra*, which is no other than the cardiac plexus. The fifth and the sixth are *Viśuddhicakra* and *Ājñākhyacakra*, which respectively correspond to the pharyngeal and the cavernous plexuses.

When a man can control the volume of life-current that penetrates into the body and the various functions of the different plexuses, he can awake all the powers latent in a human frame. The yogins with an intense desire to evolve all these powers, concentrate their main energy from the lowest to the highest plexus for the full development of the spiritual life-current. The control of the breathing organs is, therefore, recognised as a primary necessity by the general body of the Tāntricists. The *Kūmākhyaṭantra* says that when the *Kulakuṇḍalinī*, which sweeps from the *mūlādhāra* to the *Brahmarandhra*, is viewed as containing the effulgent body of the *iṣṭadevatā*, the stage is called the *mantrārtha*. When one has obtained the essence of the inner meaning of this mantra, he attains mokṣa or salvation.

With these preliminary remarks on the Tāntric and the Brāhmaṇical practice of conducting services, we now pass on to consider the famous *Sūryasevana* mantra of Java and Bali, which, along with other mantras and charms, has occupied a prominent position in the Indo-Javanese theology.

The *Sūryasevana* or the worship of the Śivāditya begins with the ceremony of Talabedana and Karaśodhana. The

Karaśodhana has to be conducted with the help of both the hands :—

With the right hand—"oṃ śuddha maṃ śvāhā"

With the left hand—"oṃ atisuddha maṃ śvāhā"¹

After making both the hands pure, the priest mumbles some other mantras and the Prāṇāyāma. It is conducted in the pose of pūraka, kumbhaka and recaka. After this prāṇāyāma is finished, the worshipper mumbles the astra-mantra—

(a) 'Oṃ aṃ hṛdayāya namaḥ

(b) Oṃ arkāya śīrase namaḥ

(c) Oṃ bhurbhuvah svare jvālīni śikhāyaiḥ namaḥ

(d) Oṃ hrūṃ kavacāya namaḥ

(e) Oṃ bhām netrāya namaḥ

(f) Oṃ hūṃ raḥ phaṭ astrāya namaḥ"²

Dr. Goris draws our attention to the fact that this mantra also occurs in the *Garuḍa-purāṇam* with the only difference that in the place of (c) and (e), we find, "oṃ aḥ bhur bhuvah svah jvālīni śikhāyai vaṣaṭ" and "oṃ bhām netrābhyāṃ vaṣaṭ" respectively. Besides, he says, in the place of 'namaḥ'—which occurs at the end of the Balinese mantras—we get namaḥ, svāhā, vaṣaṭ, hūṃ, vaṣaṭ, phaṭ, etc., at the end of the Indian mantras.

After this comes the next stage of this Sūrya-arcanā, viz., the *ñurat oṃkāra*. It is performed with *ūcamana* and some other minor rites, e.g., Trykṣara, Tṛmaṇḍala, Gaṅgā-devī, Saptatīrtha,³ etc. The formula opens with—

"Oṃ parama-Śiva-Gaṅgāya namaḥ

Oṃ hrām hrūṃ vaṣaṭ parama-Śivā-mṛtāya namaḥ"⁴

1 The texts are given in 'Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,' Goris, p. 13.

2 Text in Ibid.

3 Note how 3, 5, 7, 9, occur persistently in cases where the repetition of a mantra is deemed necessary.

4. Text in 'Oudjavaansche en Balineesche Theologie,' p. 19.

It is followed by the writing of Trykṣara (A+U+Ṃ) on the surface of water. The Sapta-tīrtha mantra may be quite interesting to Indian readers, because it gives a list of the rivers which were sacred in the eyes of the Balinese and the Javanese peoples. It runs as follows :—¹

Oṃ aṃ Gaṅgāyaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Sarasvatyaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Sindhavaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Vipāśāyaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Kauśikiyaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Yamunāyaiḥ namaḥ

Oṃ aṃ Sarayuvaiḥ namaḥ

The list was certainly prepared in the post-Vedic period ; because, we find here a commingling of the names of the ancient sacred rivers of India with those of the younger ones. After the 7 holy rivers of India are invoked to sanctify the waters of the *Kamanḍalu*, the worshipper proceeds with a group of mantras, which, according to Dr. Goris, are directly connected with the Paurāṇic Sūryārcaṇa. They are Catur-aiśvarya, Saptasvaravyāñjana, Navaśakti, Tritattva, Kūṭa-mantra (which represents the essential one-ness of Śiva and Sūrya) Brahmāṅga or Śivikaraṇa, Śivāṅga, Garbhāmantra, Aṣṭagraha, Caturtarpaṇa, etc. These are done by padmāsana or anantāsana. When these long-drawn mantras are over, then begins the *Ghaṇṭhā-mantra*, i.e. the mantra which is chanted along with Ghaṇṭādhvani or the ringing of bells. It runs as follows :—

om !

omkāra(m) Sadāśivas taṃ jagadnātha hitamkāra(m)

abhivāda vadaniya(m), gaṇṭhā śabdaṃ prakāśyate

gaṇṭhā śabda(m) mahāśreṣṭha(m), omkāra m) parikṛtitaḥ

1 Text in Ibid., p. 20; the list also occurs in the Sapta-Gaṅgā mantra :—

“Oṃ Gaṅgā Sindhu Sarasvatī, Sindhu Vipāśa Kauśiki Nadi
Yamunā Mahatīśreṣṭhā, Sarayusca Mahānadi.”

candra-nāda-vindunā datta(m), sphuliṅga Śivata(t)-
vañca taṃ taṃ(?)

oṃ ghaṇṭha āyāntu (?) puṇyante devāḥ,
abhavabhavakarmeṣu

varaṇa labdha-saṃdāha vara(m) siddhi nir-saṃśaya(m)."¹

After this *Ghaṇṭhā-mantra* is finished, the worshipper with humble obeisance recites a mantra, craving pardon of the god. This is also the characteristic of the latter portion of the Indian formulas. It is written in very simple, though corrupt Sanskrit, and breathes a sincere spirit throughout. It runs as follows :—

"Oṃ kṣamasva mām Mahādeva, sarvaprāṇa-hitaṅkara !
mām moca sarva-pāpebhyaḥ, pālayasva Sadāśiva ! Pāpo
'haṃ, pāpakarmā'haṃ, pāpātmā pāpasambhavaḥ ! trāhi mām
sarvaprāpebhyaḥ, kenacid mama rakṣatu kṣantabyāḥ kāyikā
doṣāḥ, kṣantabyāḥ vācikā mama, kṣantabyāḥ mānasā doṣāḥ,
tat pramādaṃ kṣamasva mām. Hīnākṣaram hīnapādaṃ
hīnamantran tathaiva ca, hīnabhakti hīnavidhi, Sadāśiva
nama'stu te ! oṃ mantrahīnām, kriyāhīnām, bhaktihīnām,
Maheśvara ! yat pūjitaṃ mayā, Deva ! Paripūrṇa tat ustu
me."²

No body can deny that the entire mantra breathes an earnest spirit of resignation at the feet of Lord Śiva. In a *Sūrya-arcanā*, this intrusion of Śiva as an overlord is really very interesting and shows how far Śaivism had penetrated into the theology of the ancient Balinese peoples. After this mantra is over, several other *stavas* or hymns follow, e.g., the *Āpsu deva*, *Sapta oṃkara*, *Stava-bhātāra*, *Sapta-Gaṅgā*, etc. Then we come across a set of formulas over *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *gandhapuṣpa* and some rituals connected with *udakañjali* and *pādyārghya*. Then follows the celebrated *Mṛtyunijaya mantra*, which opens with "Oṃ

1. Text in *Ibid.*, p. 27.

2. Text in *Ibid.*, p. 27-28; cf. it with 'Śītalamaṅgala-māhātmya' p. 3 ff, ed. Mrs. Vasanta Kumārī Dāsī.

dīrghāyur-vala- vṛddha- śakti-kāraṇa-mṛtyuñjaya," and contains the interesting verses :—

"Om āyu vṛddhi yaśo vṛddhi, vṛddhi prajā sukha śrīyā/ Dharma-santāna vṛddhiśca, santu te sapta-vṛddha-yah/ Yāvat Merau sthita deva, yāvat Gaṅgā mahitale Candrarekha gagane tāvat tāvat vavi jayī bhaveḥ".¹

This sort of prayer for blessings is characteristically present in all hymns of all countries. The frail human body has to struggle throughout life against all vicissitudes, and the hope of the touch of God's magic wand gives strength and stability to the enterprise of mankind. The language and tone of the above *prārthanā* has been couched in a purely Indian fashion ; because, it not only asks for '*dharma-santāna vṛddhi*', which is the pervading spirit of Manu's Institutes, but also prays for an outstanding position in the world as long as it lasts. The idea of this mantra, partly or wholly, has been echoed and re-echoed in different places of Indo-Javanese literature. Even in a record of the 9th century A.D., we come across the following corrupt verses, written in Anuṣṭubh chanda :—

"Yavat Cāndraśca Suryyaśca
rī śakalalo dīpitah /
tavat sangśaraga macat
aveci kanarakang brajet //"²

In India, too, there are many mantras of this type. Hymns for different pūjas of Bengal, e.g., *Aranyaśaṣṭhī*, *Nāgapañcamī*, *Nātāiśaṣṭhī*, *Suvacanī*, *Śitalā*, *Vudōṭhākṛuṇ*, *Ghentu*, *Kulāi*, *Mulāi*, etc., have also been couched in the same spirit. In the *Toṣṭā vrata*, for example, we come across the following pregnant lines :—

"Kodāl-kāṭā dhan pāvo /
gohāl-ālo garu pāvo /

1 Goris, *op. cit.*, p. 37ff. It is a very lengthy mantra and full of grammatical mistakes.

2 Vide, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. IX, p. 34.

darvār-ālo veṭā pāvo /
 sabhā-ālo jāmāi pāvo /
 señjha-ālo jhi pāvo /
 āḍi-māpā siṇdur pāvo /
 ghar karvo nagare,
 marvo giye sāgare,
 janmāvo uttama kule /
 tomār kāche māgi ei var,
 svāmī putra niye yena
 sukhe kari ghar".¹

The devotee, evidently a woman, asks for the following boons : gold that has to be turned out with a spade ; cows that will verily adorn a cow-shed ; son that will be the ornament of a court ; son-in-law, who will enhance the brilliance of a *sabhā* or assembly ; a daughter, who will adorn the room ; basket, which will be full of vermilion. She will also like to live in the town, die in the sea², take birth in a high family and live happily with husband and sons³.

Now, after this *Mṛtyuñjaya-mantra* is over, the *Bhasma-mantra* begins and is followed by the very interesting *vajñopavīta-mantra*, which contains a part of the celebrated Indian Gāyatrī mantra. We shall quote only that part of the mantra, which contains the Gāyatrī verse :—

“.....Iti veda-mantra gāyatrī mātra-mātra (?)

Ṣaḍ-akṣara sarvadeva pitā Svayambhu
Bhargo Devasya Dhīmahi—”

1 Vide Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, *Bāñlār Vrata*, pp. 23-24.

2 It was formerly regarded as a meritorious act.

3. For other examples of this type, vide ‘*Meyeder Vratākathā vā Māhātmya*’, pp. 14, 59, ed. by Mrs. Vasanta Kumārī Dāsī; also ‘*Bāñlār vrata*’ by Abanindra Nath Tagore, p. 5; also the Puṇyipukur Vrata.

We know that the full text of the Gāyatrī mantra is, "Om bhūr=bhuvah svah tat Savitur=vareṇyaṃ | Bhargo Devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nah pracodayāt || "

It has a long history co-eval with India's cultural history. The penetration of this jealously-guarded mantra into a land beyond the prohibited seas is really interesting and thought-provoking. It probably implies three sins committed by the Brāhmaṇas of those far-off days. Firstly, it is possible that the Brāhmaṇas themselves were responsible for importing it into Indonesia (because, only the twice-born were privileged to learn it and, as the first varṇa belonged to the priest-class, they took this *Sūryasevana* mantra to Indonesia); secondly, they crossed the seas and thirdly, they taught it to non-Indian non-Hindus. Though the caste-fiction was gradually developed there, it was merely an imitative system based on the social hierarchy of ancient India. To teach this mantra to the native Brāhmaṇas of Java and Bali is, therefore, an example of twisting the forms of the scriptural injunctions at the cost of their spirit. At any rate, it shows how the ideals of orthodox Brāhmaṇism become modified outside the stronghold of rigid Brāhmaṇism.

After the *yajñopavīta-mantra* is finished, we come to the last stage of the worship, which is merely counting the beads of japamālā about 108 times, and the mumbling of prayers and dhyāna. After this is done, Lord Śiva, who had temporarily penetrated into the worshipper's frame, leaves the fontanel and goes again to the abdominal cavity. And the worship is thus concluded.

These mantras, as a general rule, were kept in secret both in India as well as in Indonesia. The priests were in charge of this spiritual lore, with which they inspired awe of the credulous peoples. The Tāntricians also share the same belief and they state in no uncertain terms, "One may deliver all his riches, even his wife and life, but never the *guhya-mantra* (i.e. Tantra) to any

one else"¹. The celebrated *Gāruḍeya mantra* of Java also speaks in the same strain:—

*"Iti Sang Hyang Garuḍeya Samāptam. 'Rahasya Sira', kaya tnūkena de Sang sadhaka"*².

It is a mantra which should be kept in secret as a 'rahasya.'

Some other mantras we are going to discuss, have been written partly in prose and partly in verse. Some of them possess immense iconographic values; because, they describe the peculiar features of the god-head, from whom some succour is sought. We select a Viṣṇumantra, called the *Narasinhadhyāna*, which represents two characteristics of Narasiṅha or Viṣṇu. The first section describes the god in his awful figure and is called the *Tikṣṇamantra*. The latter portion represents him in his beneficent qualities and has, therefore, aptly been described as the '*Somya-mantra*'. This mantra, besides all such peculiarities, throws additional light on the influence of the all-pervading Śaivism. As we have said before, Viṣṇu was not very popular in Java. His mount or vāhana is Garuḍa, who occupies a more prominent place in Javanese iconography, and is represented with a ferocious grin. This, as Krom points out, is in refreshing contrast to the calm majesty of the rider. Many statues of this Divinity have been preserved in the museum of Mojokerto.

The original text of the *Narasinhamantra*, which has been written in easy intelligible Sanskrit but with some mixture of Javanese mystic terms, then continues:—

"Om Narasiṅhāya sarvaśatruvināśāya pat. Narasiṅhadhyāna sahāstra nira. Um hrum khaḍgeśvarāya sarvaśatruvināśāya pat; pūr, ma, um hrum Saṅkhaṇḍajanyāya sarvaśatruvināśāya, pat, gneng muka, ma, um hrum cakra-

1 Vide Kulārṇava Tantra, Kūlācārapūjā.

2 Vide Bijdragen T.L.VK., 7th series VI, 1908, p. 412; cf. also RIS 508, Primbon, 119 folia in Ibid, deel 69, pp. 387ff.

sudarśanāya sarvaśatruvināśāya pat da muka, ma um hruṃ
gadāya sarvaśatruvināśāya pat neng muka um hruṃ cāpāya
sarvaśatruvināśāya pat, pa, muka, ma, um hruṃ, Śarāya
sarvaśatruvināśāya pat, ba, muka, ma, um hruṃ ṭankāya
(i.e. chisel) sarvaśatruvināśāya pat, u muka ma um hruṃ
ardhacandrāya sarvaśatruvināśāya pat, u, muka, ma, sma,
katuduhana ira Sang Hyang astra iki.”

The portion quoted above shows how Viṣṇu in his
Narasīṃha incarnation was represented by the Javanese
peoples. The mantra then continues :—

“Om Narasiṃhāya namaḥ ugra viṣṇumahāvīryyaṃ jva-
lantam sarvatomukham. Nṛsiṃhābhīṣanam mṛtyumṛtyun
namāmyaham. Tikṣṇamantra iti.”

This Javanese *Narasīṃhamantra* may be compared
with a similar Indian one, which betrays the same general
characteristics. The text of the Indian *Nṛsiṃhamantra*,
also used as a protection of limbs, runs as follows :—

“Ugram vīram Mahā-Viṣṇuṃ jvalantam sarvatomukham/
Nṛsiṃham bhīṣanam bhadram mṛtyumṛtyuṃ namāmyaham/
Dvātrīṃśadakṣaro mantro mantrarājaḥ suradrumaḥ/ Kaṇṭham
patu dhruvaṃ kṣraṃ hṛdbhagavate cakṣuṣi mama/ Nara-
siṃhāya ca jvālāmāline pātu mastakam/ Dīptadauṣṭrāya ca
tathāgni netrāya ca nāsikām/ Sarvarakṣoghnāya sarvabhūta-
vināśāya ca/ Sarvajvaravināśāya daba daha pacadvyaṃ/
Rakṣa rakṣa varma cāstram svāhā pātu mukham mama/
Tārādirāmacandrāya namaḥ pāyādgudaṃ mama/ Klīm.
pāyāt pārśvayugmañca tāraṃ namaḥ padaṃ tataḥ.”

It would thus appear that the first portion of these
two passages is almost identical. It is a pity, however,
that the *tikṣṇamantra* section of the Javanese *Narasīṃha-
dhyāna* ends abruptly. The theme, however, is continued
in the *Somyamantra*, which ends with “*Iti Vajra Nara-
siṃha kahilangan ing śatru don ira mwang Śārarakṣaka*”
It means, “This is the Vajra (or weapon) of Narasiṃha.”

1. Vide, *Kāmākhyā-tantra*, pp. 41ff.

who is the destroyer of the enemies and protector of the limbs." Two verses have been added to this with an old-Javanese explanation, which points to the fact that this mantra has to be used at the time of warfare and one who uses it must come out victorious. The latter portion of the Indian *Nṛsiṅhamantra*, which we have quoted before, contains the following verses :—

"Trailokyam kṣobhayatyeva trailokya-vijayī bhavet/
Bhūtapretāḥ piśācāśca rākṣasā dānavāśca ye/ taṃ drṣṭvā
prapalāyante deśāddeśāntaram dhruvaṃ" etc.

Cod. 5325 of the Lombok collection is also a Viṣṇu-mantra, called the *Viṣṇu-stava*, which, along with *Cod.* 5332, ends in a peculiarly Indian fashion with 'Svāhā.' Both are written in Sanskrit. As the general burden of all these mantras is not materially different, we shall not deal with them at any great length. We only quote a few verses from *Cod.* 5331, which have got legions of parallels in Indian scriptures and mantras¹ :—

"Pāda rakṣantu Govīndo, janggābhayañca Trivikramaḥ,
ūrvantang Keśavo rakṣet, prṣṭhe rakṣantu Vāmanaḥ.....

Vāhu dvo Vāsudevaśca, Narasiṁha, hrīdīsthita, kaṇṭhe
rakṣantu Varāhaḥ, Kṛṣṇaśca mukhamaṇḍalaṃ.....

Netre Nārāyaṇo rakṣet, lalāṭe Garuḍadhvajah, kapāle-
Vainateyaśca, Keśavo śiraḥ-saṁsthitaḥ."

The end of this mantra is very peculiar and it irresistibly reminds us of the *Svastivacana* of Indian *Vṛata-kathās* and rituals. It states in no uncertain terms that those who utter these mantras will go to Viṣṇuloka, and—

".....dākṣiṇībhūtapretesu² bhayo nāsti kadācana, aputre

1 Vide Bijdragen T.L.VK., 1908 "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Vereering van Viṣṇu op Java," pp. 412ff.

2 The Southern region is regarded by the Javanese peoples as a place haunted by awful followers of the King of Death—Yama; the remaining portion may be compared with '*Kākavandhyā ca yā nārī mṛtavatsā ca yā bhavet Janṇavandhyā naṣṭaputrā vahuputravati*

labhate putraḥ, dhanahīno dhanam labhet, mucyate sarva-rogeṣu, Viṣṇulokaṃ saḥ gacchati."

The prevalence of these mantras demonstrates the spirit of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism in Java and Bali. Even now, the old religious peoples of the orthodox families in India, mutter the following śloka, while rising from bed in the early morning :—

"Ahalyā Draupadī Kuntī Tārā Mandodarī tathā
Pañcakanyāḥ smarennityaṃ mahāpātakanāśanaṃ.
Puṇyaśloko Nalo rājā puṇyaśloko Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ
Puṇyaślokā ca Vaidehī puṇyaśloko Janārdanaḥ.
Prabhāte yaḥ smarennityaṃ Durgā Durgākṣaradvayaṃ
Āpadastasya naśyanti tamaḥ Sūryodaye yathā."

We have no information if the earlier part of this mantra beginning with '*Brahmāmūrāristripurāntakūrī bhānu śasī*', etc., which we have not quoted here, and the latter part beginning with '*Puṇyaśloko Nalo rājā*', had ever been present among the Javanese and the Balinese peoples, but the occurrence of the middle two verses, viz.,

"Om Ahalyā Dropadī Sītā Dara Mandodarī tata
Pañcakanyā smare nityaṃ—"

is really striking, as they demonstrate the socio-religious parity of the Indo-Javanese people in the classical period of their history. The substitution of the name of Sītā for that of Kuntī is rather interesting and it serves to show the unique position of the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The śloka we have quoted above, ends with 'om sarvarogha vighna-śatru byuḥ phaṭ namaḥ svāhā.'

There is a different class of mantras, which we may designate by the generic name,—charm. The difference which

bhavet" of the Nṛsiṃhamantra. Suppl. Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. HSS, dl II. Cod. 3935 (4).

1 It draws the picture of Mahādeva's humiliation at the feet of his wife, goddess Kālī.

we draw between these two sets of formulas is that while the one is an invocation to God or gods for some help or protection, the other is an incantation to cure some diseases or some physical disabilities, in which the invoker threatens the God or gods in case these disabilities are not removed or redressed. Judging from this standpoint, the '*Garuḍeya mantra*' is no mantra at all, but a mere charm against snake-bite. Here the *vāhana* or vehicle of Viṣṇu is Garuḍa, and he has been invoked to counteract the influence of poison. Frequently, we come across such words as '*viṣāpaḥa*', '*viṣahari*' '*viṣadaha*', etc. Such charms are widely prevalent in all India. In Bengal, we have a vast unpublished literature on them. It is generally believed by peoples that they lose their efficacy, if they see the light of the day and hence, they remain in '*rahasya*' just like the Javanese and Balinese charms. Quite contrary to ordinary custom, some of the Bengali charms were published by Mir Khoram Ali, and the oldest of them reminds one of the Bengali literary style of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. We notice here invocations to Manasā, Śiva, Kālī, Garuḍa, Kṛṣṇa and other deities of the Hindu pantheon. An unalloyed example of this character is the '*mṛtavatsā*' charm, which has been intended to stop the birth of still-born children of women. Though there are some vague passages in the beginning, the main idea is clear. This charm, which fulfils all the conditions of our definition, runs as follows :—

'Kholā Kholā ore Kholā, tore dekḥivāre pāi /

Hanumāner kṛpāy tore sāpaṭiyā pāi /

Kena tumi karo more'orupa kyājāi //

Pāścāte Kālikā mā, sammukhete Śiva /

Caturddika rakṣā kare, haye caturddika /

E mantra yadi naḍe Mahādever jaṭā chidi,

Kālikūr pade pade /

Kār Ājñe ?

Kāmarūpa Kāmikhyā māyer ājñe /

Śighri lāgge".

Here, the meaning of the invoked Kholā is not quite clear to us. It generally means 'open or bare', but the sense is not applicable here. Similarly, the idea contained in 'kṛājñe' remains absolutely vague. Admitting all these limitations, our translation of the above charm would be as follows :—

"Kholā, Kholā, Oh Mr. Kholā, my eyes are on you.

By the grace of Hanumān, I shall put you in

my iron embrace.

Why are you thus putting troubles (?) in my way ?

In my rear, there is mother Kālikā,

In my front, there is Lord Śiva ;

They are standing square, and guarding my

four quarters !

If this mantra be baffled,

The knotted locks of Mahādeva will tear off,

And drop down at the feet of Kālikā.

Whose orders ?

The orders of Kāmikhyā (= Kāmākhyā)

-mā¹ of Kāmarūpa.

Quicken, oh quicken".

There is a huge unpublished literature on this subject in the lands of South-east Asia. Beginning with the charms of the *Atharvaveda*, the sceptical Kauṭilya's formulas² to stupefy animals, to make doors open, to change appearance—the whole subject has undergone numerous changes and transformations in succeeding centuries. It is likely that the contribution of the Śaiva and the Buddhist Tāntricians was not inconsiderable in the

1 i.e., Mother.

2 Arthaśāstra, Book XIV, Chapter III, pp. 484-490.

development of the Indo-Javanese charms of this category. Mal-Polynesian charms also do not fall into a different class, and we offer here a representative example to serve as a model :—

"Hai Raja Hanuman,
Aku tahu kena asal-mu
Ibu-mu Tuan puteri Siti Dewi
Baha-mu Rajs Seri Rama
Mu membawa Sinjoh Tarak
Sianu kapadu diri aku,
Gila S'bara mabok bingong,
Benger-denger pesanan aku,
Jikalan mu ta' denger,
Aku Sumpah"¹.

The English translation offered for it, is—

“Prince Hanuman,
I know thy origin !
Your mother was princess Siti Dewi,
Your father was Prince Rama,
Nudge and fetch my love to me !
Make her mad and distracted for me !
Hear my order,
If you hear not,
I will curse you !”

The last portion is important, because it shows the usual characteristics of the charms. The same volume of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society contains some more charms, but they seem to have been influenced by the religion of the prophet of Mecca. For example, one of the charms uses the expression, "*Bapa-nu Nabi Mahammad*" and it is stated with reference to Śrī Rāma, who has been described as the son of the prophet of Mecca. The

1 Vide Journ. Malay-Br. R.A.S., vol. IX, pt. I, May, 1931.

last portion of these charms does not materially differ from one another, and the general tone of Indo-Mal-Polynesian charms seems to draw them to the same vortex. The '*vāṭi-cālanūr mantra*', which probably owed its origin to the yogis of the Nātha-Sampradāya (it mentions Gorakṣanātha), and numerous snake-bite-cure mantras—which, of course, fall under the class of charms—naturally lead us to the conclusion that at one period of our country's history there was a closer contact with the Mal-Polynesian peoples than we are supposing heretofore and to this, the foregoing charms bear an eloquent testimony. The frequent occurrence of the names of Indian gods in these charms proves conclusively that they owe their origin to India or to Indian colonists of those regions.

We now come to a close of our discussion on the so-called "Vedic literature of Indonesia." The immense richness of the language and its indebtedness to the sacred literature of India can hardly be doubted for a moment. In every phase of Indonesian culture, the contributions of the Hindus and the Buddhists have been profound and abiding. It is a matter of great regret, however, that we have no positive data at our disposal to say who were responsible for the importation of the sacred literature of India to Java and Bali. As regards the acute question over the Vedas, Crawford says¹; "I have looked in vain both on Java and Bali for any vestige of Hindu scriptures or Vedas and though I reasonably doubt the skill with which the enquiry was pursued, I am yet strongly inclined to believe that they have no existence and probably never had among the Hindus of oriental islands. It seems singular enough, that an orthodox sect of Hindus, as the worshippers of Siva are,

1. Vide, Asiatic Researches, vol. XIII, "On the existence of Hindu religion in the island of Bali," p. 147.

should not be in possession of the sacred text. The inferior castes among the Hindus are by the ordinances of their religion interdicted from reading the Vedas. Did the first Brāhmaṇas, who settled in the Archipelago, lie from some impurity or contamination under a similar interdiction; or, were they pretended Brāhmaṇas only and in reality persons of inferior rank, to whom the use of the Vedas was unlawful? or lastly, did the first Brāhmaṇas, compelled by the necessity to intermarry with the aboriginal inhabitants conscientiously forbid the Vedas to their polluted posterity."

We are inclined to subscribe to the last view of Crawford. The absence of the sacred thread¹, along with the fact that by the Vedas probably the Javanese and the Balinese peoples understood nothing but charms, would naturally tend to show how the socio-religious theories of the Hindus have been modified, distorted or otherwise artificially manipulated in Indonesia for the exigencies of the situation. Here the Indian tradition, though modified, became a living religion, which was never questioned by the unsophisticated peoples and, if there was no sanction behind any institution, that was made up for by the catholicity and the spirit of accommodation which characterised the Javanese mind. The Javanese peoples thus accepted the principles of the social hierarchy of India and borrowed her religious views, but a substantial portion of her literature bearing on the subject practically remained sealed to them. Besides, many lontar-records were not duplicated in later times and thus the invaluable records of ancient Indo-Javanese culture have been partially lost,—the fragments that have escaped the ravages of time and men are all that we possess at the present moment. To

1. On the sacred thread of the Balinese peoples, vide JRAS., New Series, 9, 1876-77, pp. 73, 74, 83.

enunciate any negative proposition on the basis of these extant materials would, therefore, be a very rash conjecture, which may or may not be verified by historical researches. The 'Vedic literature of Indonesia', at any rate, is something like a commentary on the Orthodox Hinduism of our country and tears off some of the prevalent notions of Brāhmaṇical exclusiveness as a mere myth.

CHAPTER V.

THE AGAMA OR DHARMASĀSTRAS OF INDONESIA

This mighty cultural contact between the two peoples of south east Asia not only accelerated the growth of the Paurāṇic literature in Java and Bali, but also led to the foundation of Jurisprudence and Nīti literature, which were evolved to suit the requirements of the peculiarly-constituted Indo-Javanese society. For the sake of convenience, we shall divide this chapter under two heads, viz— (1) the *Nīti literature*, which contains a rich stock of moral precepts and maxims, and (2) the *Jurisprudence* or legal literature. We propose to consider first—

A. *The Nīti Literature*

A large number of works belonging to this class of literature has sought to expound the ideals of morality, the duties of men and women in different walks of life, and has discoursed upon certain principles of religion and ethics. The celebrated book, *Sārasamuccaya*, an Old-Javanese work with sprinklings of Sanskrit quotations, may be regarded as a good Nīti work, which includes a large number of moral precepts gathered from different Indian sources. The book was noticed as early as 1849, when Dr. Friederich published his '*voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*'. But he was unable to read the title of the book which he explained as *Sārāsa* and *Moestjaja*. It opens with the story how the author of the book, Bhagavān Vararuci, gathered the essence of the 'Aṣṭādaśa-parva.' It says'—

"Bhagavān Vararuci mupulaken sāra-sāra sang hyang Aṣṭādaśaparva, gave bhagavān Byāsa."

1 Text given by Juynboll in *Bijdragen T.L.VK.*, 6th Series, Vol. VIII, 1901., pp. 393ff.

The author has adopted a large number of ślokas from the Anuśāsanaparvan ; some have also been borrowed from the Ādiparvan, the Udyogaparvan, the Pañcatantram, the Hitopadeśa, etc. Dr. Juynboll has made a comparative study on the basis of these common ślokas, and we quote here only a few to demonstrate the similarity of these ślokas with one another. The following verses have been taken from the Ādiparvan—

“Yathā samudrobhagavān yathā Merur
mahāgiriḥ
Ubhau khyātau ratnanidhī tathā
Bharatam ucyate.”

Like the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, the *Pañcatantram* has also been requisitioned by the Javanese author, who has embodied many of its pithy expressions in the *Sārasamuccaya*. The following verses from *Pañcatantram* may serve as a good illustration :—

“Purve vayasi yaḥ śāstāḥsa
sa śānta iti me matih
Dhātuṣu kṣīyamāneṣu śamaḥ kasya na
vidyate.”

Dr. Juynboll points out¹ that in the place of ‘Vidyate’ the Indian text has ‘Jāyate’. It is, however, a great credit to the Javanese author that he has succeeded in translating these ślokas fairly well into his own native tongue. We quote here a different example from the Javanese *Sārasamuccaya*, which has been borrowed from the Indian story-book, the *Hitopadeśa*. It runs as follows :—

“Yuvaiva dharmāṣiḥ syād anityam
khalu jīvitam.

Ko hi jānāti kasyādya mṛtyusenā patisyati”

Here, the difference between the two texts is appreciably greater ; because, as Dr. Juynboll points out, the Indian text contains “*mṛtyukālo bhabisyati*”, which has been

¹ Ibid.

substituted by '*mṛtyusenā patisyati*' in the Javanese *Sāra-samuccaya*. Nobody would deny the importance of the *Sāra-samuccaya* from the view-point of comparative study. It can certainly control, though to a limited extent, certain ślokas of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantram*, etc. The sprinklings of Sanskrit ślokas have also enabled us to infer that the author was well-acquainted with these Indian works, and what is more, he had the capacity to understand Sanskrit and translate it fairly well into the dialect of the country. According to Dr. H. N. Van der Tuuk, the prose-portion is "very corrupt." It was probably composed in the 14th century A.D.

Of very great importance are two Buddhist works, the *Sang Hyang Kamahūyānikan* and the *Kuñjarakarṇa*. We had occasion to discuss the former one in connexion with the Paurāṇic literature of Java and Bali; we shall now consider the legend of *Kuñjarakarṇa*, which was probably written in W. Java.

The *Kuñjarakarṇa* is an edifying story, in which Dhyānibuddha Vairocana expounds the meaning of *Dharma* to the Yakṣa *Kuñjarakarṇa* by means of allegories. It was translated by Dr. Kern as early as 1901 and was also discussed at some length by C. M. Pleyte.¹ It states that a certain Yakṣa, *Kuñjarakarṇa* by name, wanted to attain a higher state of perfection in a subsequent re-birth and, therefore, sought instructions in *Dharma* and Law from Vairocana, who was residing in Bodhicitta. The Great Master accepted him as a disciple of his, but he first wanted him to go to Yama, the King of hell, to see personally how the wicked are punished and tortured. Accordingly, he went to hell and took lessons from Yama on the "*physiology of the transmigration of souls*." In certain respects, *Kuñjarakarṇa* appears here in the same rôle which

¹ Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK, deel LVI, 1914, "Poernawidjaja's hellevaart of de volledige verlossing," pp. 365ff.

was played over centuries ago by Naciketā in the *Kāthopaniṣad*,¹ though the philosophy of religion as expounded in the latter work is decidedly of a higher order. That the soul never dies, is also a pervading note of this work,² and the Buddhist philosophy of the Mahāyānist School has been discussed at almost every page. However, after giving a long discourse on religious subjects, Yama informed Kuñjarakaṇṇa about the arrival of a very great sinner, who was, to his utter surprise, no other than his old friend, Vidyādhara Pūrṇavijaya.

Immediately after taking leave of Yama, he repaired to the house of Pūrṇavijaya. As Pūrṇavijaya was in deep sleep, the door of the house was opened by his wife, Kusumagandhavatī. Being pressed by the guest, Kusumagandhavatī awakened her husband, who heard with some dismay the description of his lot in hell. Pūrṇavijaya was much too frightened at his gloomy future, which he wanted to escape by adequate penances. He decided, therefore, to seek the shelter of Vairocana through his friend Kuñjarakaṇṇa, who gladly consented to introduce him to the Master. Now, both of them set forth for the abode of the great Saviour and Kuñjarakaṇṇa, who had finished his courses in the Yama-loka, presented himself to Vairocana and desired to be initiated into the process of self-purification and self-immolation. He did not, however, forget the case of his wretched friend Pūrṇavijaya, who was undergoing intense mental sufferings.

Vairocana broke off his meditation and, after accepting him as his disciple, propounded the highest doctrines of philosophy and ethics, which served to destroy his demoniac figure. Pūrṇavijaya was also honoured to sit at the feet of the Great Master, whose luminous discourses brought about a great change in his vision of life. But he could not still escape

1 Vide 1st and 2nd *vallī*.

2 Cf. also *Kāthopaniṣad*, 1st *vallī*, 19.

the death-sentence, which was hanging over his head like the sword of Damocles. He, therefore, requested Vairocana to minimise the rigours of his penalty in hell, as were first apportioned to him. After getting some assurances, he returned home and absorbed himself in deep meditation and religious works in accordance with the advice of the Master. After the period of penance was over, he told his wife that he would fall in a death-trance, which would not be relieved till the 11th day. On that day, his soul would re-enter the body after going through accustomed punishments in hell. During his days of trial in hell, while his soul was going to be thrown into a pan on fire, a miracle happened. In the place of the fire-pit, grew up a beautiful *Kalpataru*, whose branches hang over a watery-place that was studded with the most exquisite flowers. Pūrṇavijaya also began to emanate signs of health, vigour and strength! It appeared that the soul of him has been re-animated with a halo of divinity!

Yama was taken aback in astonishment and he enquired of Pūrṇavijaya about the significance of all these miracles. He ascribed all to Vairocana's blessings and Yama, apparently satisfied with the explanation offered by Pūrṇavijaya, set him at liberty to break off his short-term sojourn in hell. On the 11th day, he re-entered the corpse and requested his wife to invite all vidyādhara and vidyādhari, who would sing hymns in honour of Vairocana. Vairocana, meanwhile, had departed to the heaven of gods, where Indra and Yama were present. They asked him how it was that the condemned Pūrṇavijaya, who was sentenced to undergo punishment for 100 years, was released so soon. Vairocana then explained the whole thing and described that in a previous life both Pūrṇavijaya and Kuṇḍarakarṇa—then known as Mūladhara and Kīrṇagata—were guilty of nursing some jealousy against a certain Utsāhadharma. It is quite interesting to note that the work called *Bhuvana-*

*tattvapariçaya*¹ deals with the subject of their previous birth and adduces some interesting informations. The wife of Mūladhara, for example, has not been mentioned in the *Kuñjarakarna*; in the other work, her name appears as Sumalinī. Similarly, Sudharma of the legend of Kuñjarakarna, who is no other than the wife of Utsāhadharma, appears here in a slightly modified form,—Sudharmikā. The name of Kīrṇagata has also been transformed into Karnaḡotra.

After explaining the history of the past lives of these persons, Vairocana returned to his own heaven. Meanwhile Pūrṇavijaya informed his wife that he would go to practise self-immolation for 12 years, and accordingly he repaired to the mountain Mahāmeru, where he discovered his friend Kuñjarakarna. Both of them built cloisters there and began to practise hard austerities and, after the elapse of 12 years, by the grace of the Master, they became siddhas and went to the Siddha-heaven. Penances and sacrifices for 12 years are also frequently to be met with in ancient Indian religious literature.

This is, in short, the legend of Kuñjarakarna. It shows belief in the transmigration of soul, that the activities of the past life determine the status of the future and that the application of samādhi, penances, etc., ultimately lead persons to final salvation. Though these are some of the characteristics of Hindu philosophy, the manner of treatment of the subject proper draws it into the vortex of the Mahāyānist school, whose teachings have been elaborated through religious discourses and moral aphorisms. (A succinct account of its philosophy may be seen in Krom, *Borobudur*, Vol. II, pp. 302ff; cf. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, pp. 149-177).

According to Dr. Kern, the *Kuñjarakarna* has to be placed in the 12th century A.D. According to Dr. Juyn-

1. Vide, Cod. 5023 (1) in Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS., dl I, 1907.

boll, however, the *Koravāśrama*, the *Āśramavāśapārva* and the *Kuñjarakarṇa* are dated at about the same period,—the 14th century A.D.¹ These three books use some interjections. The *Kuñjarakarṇa*, for example, uses 'seg les rep.' This is a characteristic of contemporary Sundanese literature and, therefore, these writings might have been composed in W. Java. It is also noteworthy that the oldest MS., which was utilised by Dr. Kern, is derived from this region.

There is also a Middle-Javanese work of some importance, which can be brought under this category. It is called *Navaruci*; in Java, it is also known under the name of *Bimasuci* or *Deva Ruci*.² The contents of this book are given in the following words³ :—

"*Doch Wrekodara poeroeita ring Dangnjang Droena kinon angoe-paja tojuningkang ngoetjikake maring sariranipoen*" i.e. Vṛkodara or Bhīma is the student of Droṇa, who sends him to bring water so that his body may be purified.

The story is as follows: Bhīma was sent by Droṇa to bring 'Amṛtāñjivanī' from the hill of Tjondra Moeka (candramukha?). There he fought against giants and finally slew two Butas (i.e. *bhūta* or spirits), viz., Sang Rukma and Sang Rukmala, and upturned the hill for the discovery of the holy water. But he did not find it there. A voice of Indra Baju informed him that he had been misled and that he ought to go again to Ngastina⁴ for further light on the exact location of the place. He followed the advice and Droṇa told him that the water had to be procured from the depth of the sea. Here also

1 Bijdragen T.L.VK., deel 72, 1916, pp. 401ff.

2 Vide Cod. 4842 in Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS, dl II, p. 292; also Vreede, Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. HSS, 1892, pp. 248-249.

3 Cod. 1804, Vreede.

4 i.e. Hastinā.

Bhīma did not find the holy water—the tirta prawitaja or toja marja of *Cod.* 1804—but instead of it he saw innumerable monsters and gigantic snakes. Meanwhile, the Pāṇḍavas were very anxious, and naturally the Kauravas were very jolly, over the long absence of Bhīma. In his random wanderings, however, he came across a philosopher at the bottom of the sea; he was no other than Devāruci, the Navaruci of *Cod.* 4342 of Juynboll's Catalogue. He described himself as a very favourite one of Bhaṭṭāra Guru, i.e., Śiva and informed Bhīma that the thing he sought for might be discovered in the guwagarba. Dr. van der Tuuk notes¹ that in these exploits he succumbed and was revived by Bhagavān Navaruci or Bimasuci.

The Middle-Javanese work *Pulutuk* is a dialogue between Mpu Lutuk and Ahaskara over the lot of a deceased soul. Of similar nature is the *Nitivrata* which is a didactic prose work²; it describes the conversation between Ciptavarana and Valakula. This is written in Old-Javanese, but the style is not very pure. There might also be some justification for taking the work '*Raṇayajña*' as a *tutur* or Nīti-work.³ It contains some Sanskrit ślokas. It begins with '*Avighnaṃ astu*' and states in which heaven men will depart if killed in a particular way. If any one, for example, be killed by an arrow—the author tells us—he will certainly go to the heaven of Bāyu (i.e. Vāyu). Here Raṇa or (war-field) has been compared to a huge sacrificial pit, wherein human sacrifices are offered. The idea was certainly derived from the Brāhmaṇical sacrifices. There are also some mantras in the body of the book.

✓ The two works—*Ādipurāṇa* and *Bhuvanapurāṇa*—give

1 Vide JRAS, New Series, 13., p. 53ff.

2 *Cod.* 3623 (1) in Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS., dl II, Juynboll.

3 Ibid, *Cod.* 3858 (3).

us an account of the different obligations of human life. The first book, namely Ādipurāṇa, which is an Old-Javanese prose-work, is partly based upon the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, and begins with a discourse on 18 duties over marriage, respect to be paid to elders and masters, etc.¹

In this book, the speaker is Mūrthitasana and the person who hears him is Vismanagara, the king of Praṣṭanagara in the island of Gawan. It also recounts the war of the Devas and the Asuras over *Amṛta*, which has also been described in the *Tantu Panggalaran* and in the Javanese Ādiparva. According to our author, the eclipse of the Sun and the Moon was caused by Singhika and not by Rāhu, as we see in the *Mahābhārata*. According to Juynboll, the language of the book is not different from that of the *Tantu*, the *Koravāśrama*, the *Kuñjarakarṇa* etc. We shall have occasion to discuss this work more fully later on.

The *Bhuvanapurāṇa* is an Old-Javanese work having some corrupt Sanskrit śloka. It describes a dialogue between Vaśiṣṭha and Parameśvara, who was seated in Kailāsa, about the four āśramas and castes. It incidentally mentions the 'Mlecchas' and the Wayang players.

The *Kāmandaka Rājanīti*, however, gives an exposition of the duties of the ruling class. Kāmandaka is the name of a Bhagavān or a learned preceptor of good old days, who assumes here the rôle of a tutor to a prince. Dr. Friederich in his note on the list of these books says² that Rājanīti has many points of resemblance with the 'Prince' of Machiavelli. *Cod.* 3877 (1) begins with 'nama (read—namaḥ) Śivāya.' It contains the name of some of our epic heroes. Like Kāmandaka, Bhagavān Vyāsa plays the leading rôle of a teacher in the book called *Niti-praya*.³ It says that Viṣṇu was the author of it, and Vyāsa the

1 Ibid, *Cod.* 5019.

2 Verhand. Bat. Genoot., deel 22, p. 23.

3 Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS, dl II, p. 243ff, *Cod.* 4338.

editor. The book was written as a text-book for a prince, who was threatened by enemy. The language of the book, according to Dr. Juynboll, is not very old. It states that king Suparkadeva of Ayodhyā was once attacked by Aji Wangbang, king of Danawuhawu. Bhagavān Ratnabhūmi took compassion on him and gave him the *Niti-praya*. Guided by its principles, he was able to overcome his enemy, the king of Danawuhawu, whose daughter Yajñavatī was subsequently carried off by him. Suparkadeva also receives some instructions on polity from a parrot, who was no other than Rāveya, the son of Bhagavān Ratnabhūmi; he was cursed by gods for throwing a nāgasari-flower on them. Like many Indian books, *Cod.* 861 of this work ends with '*iti Nitipraya parisamāpta*.'¹ Many passages of it reminds us of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

About the nature of the ideal king, the *Nitipraya* says, "A good prince must protect his subjects against all unjust persecutions and oppressions and should be the light of his subjects even as the sun is the light of the world. If, on the contrary, a prince neglects to extend his benevolence and protection towards his subjects, he exposes himself to be abandoned by them, or at any rate, loses their confidence."

About the Prime-Minister it says, "It is a disgrace to a Prime-Minister for any hostile attack to be made on the country entrusted to his charge without his knowledge or that he should be careless or inattentive to the same rather thinking how to obtain the favour of his prince than to secure the safety of the country. So it is when he does not understand how to administer the country properly, or fails to invent what is useful; when he makes many promises, but fulfils few; when he is careless with regard to public affairs and talks much about what is of no consequence, seeking to be admired by the people and putting

1 Ibid, p. 245.

on fair appearances when his intentions do not correspond ; when he cares nothing about the misfortunes of inferiors, provided he gets money himself ; when finally he is not faithful, but deceitful—such a Prime-Minister is like the hawk which soars high in the air, but descends low on the earth to seize and steal its fruit. But a good Prime-Minister is he who is upright in his heart, moderate in his fear of the prince, faithfully obedient to all his orders, kind-hearted, not oppressive to the people and always exerting himself to the utmost for the happiness of the people and the welfare of the country."

As regards the duty of the ambassador, it says : "A person entrusted with a message from his prince must never abuse his trust placed in him, but always keep in sight that on such occasion he is the representative of the prince.....Before he enters any foreign country, by some secret means or other, he occasions his own name and that of the prince his master to be spread over the country, at the same time he obtains every possible information regarding the state of the country and the people. On entering the country, he must assume a dignified appearance and not speak or look about him more than is necessary. Such conduct will inspire the people with respect for him."¹

These wise sayings are never Machiavellian in tone, and they have found their place in every political science of the world, though in the garb of a different language. In a similar strain the Javanese *Nitiśāstra* says : "It is the duty of the chief of the nation to enquire into everything which can affect his subjects ; to know whether they are prosperous or not, if everyone attends to his duty, if they are skilful in the execution of it or not, and in all cases to take measures accordingly, never losing sight of justice."²

1 Translated by Raffles in his '*History of Java*,' 1830, Vol. I, pp. 305ff.

2 Ibid, p. 288.

It continues further : "A chief should keep his plan of attack as secret as possible, because the knowledge of it may enable the enemy to be on his guard and turn the measures taken to his own advantage. He ought not to challenge his enemy to give battle, as in that case the enemy will have an opportunity of preparing himself for the same : but he should attempt to surprise him and rush upon him like a fire, that quickly and without much noise consumeth all with which it comes in contact."

The author of this book observes quite appropriately that "the severest misfortune which a man can suffer is to be deprived by force of the land upon which he lives and which he has cultivated or to have his wife and children taken from him by force."

The *Nitiśāstra Kawi* offers the highest position to holy sages—a position, which is higher than that of Bhaṭṭāra¹ Guru or even the moon. It says—

"Bhaṭṭāra Guru is cool, still colder is the moon ; but the coldness of neither is to be compared to that which is instilled by the voice of a holy man."

The book runs into 123 stanzas, which have been composed in the most beautiful *Kawi*. It has been supposed that the book is co-eval with, if not older than the celebrated *Bhāratayuddha*, which was composed in 1157 A. D. by Mpu Sedah. It is curious, however, that we cannot discover any passage from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta in the Javanese and Balinese *Niti* Literature. Though his name appears in the Calcutta stone-inscription of Airlangga, dated 965 Śaka or 1041 A. D., no part of his celebrated book has yet been discovered in Indonesia. It is clear, however, that he had been enjoying an international reputation even in the middle of the 11th century A. D. as a great writer on polity or *Niti*. Though future researches may throw further light on the

1 Bhaṭṭāra is probably derived from Bhaṭṭāraka.

subject, it can be said in passing that the style and reasoning in some *Niti*-works constantly remind us of the poignant and virile pen of the writer of the Indian *Arthaśāstra*. Many passages have been handled in a strikingly similar fashion. It is not impossible that a chance discovery may yet turn up some *Kawī* translation or part thereof of the original Indian book, just like the VIIIth book of the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, which was discovered in the Javanese *Svara Jambu* !

B. Jurisprudence

The earliest form of the idea of authority is belief in a divinely ordained set of rules—which, in the latest form, emanate from the sovereign power in a politically organised society. "The theory of the entire body of law, both religious and secular," says Golap Chandra Sarkar,¹ "emanating from the deity is maintained by Manu, whose code is admitted to hold the highest rank among the works called Smṛti. A text of Brhaspati declares that a Smṛti or rule, that is opposed to the sense of Manu's Institutes, is not approved ; since, the superiority of Manu's Code is ordained by reason of its embodying the purport of the Veda or revelation." Thus the fiction of divine origin, which is one of the characteristics of ancient Jurisprudence, has been maintained as a distinctive feature of early Indian law-codes. About the primitive Hindu conception of the origin of law, we read in the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*,²

"Sanaivavyabhavat tat śreyorūpamatyaśṛjata dharmam."

The same book also states in a different place,

*"Taṁ devāścakrire dharmam sa evādya sa uśca."*³

In the Javanese and Balinese law-codes, too, the fiction

¹ Vide, Tagore Law Lectures, 1891, pp. 72ff.

² I, IV, 14.

³ Ibid, I, V, 23; vide also Manu, 1,58; II, 11.

of divine origin has been maintained throughout, and Lord Śiva has been described as the propounder of some. The *Śivaśāsana* or *Pūrvādhigama*, for example, pretends to codify the laws propounded by Śiva. As the greatest number of early Indonesian law-codes have been based upon the *Mūnadvadharmasāstra* of India, it is but natural that they should breathe the same Indian spirit. Besides, in the earliest evolutionary stage of society, a fiction of this character is urgently necessary for marshalling the recalcitrant elements of society to the side of law and order—and, this has been responsible more than anything else for the incorporation of such fiction in the earliest law-codes of the world. The Indian term Āgama, which means a Śāstra handed down by the gods, and which is used by the Indonesian peoples to denote their law-codes, is, therefore, significant.

As regards the date of these works we are quite in the dark. Only the *Śivaśāsana* has been referred to in an inscription of 991 A.D. If it be identical with the extant work, it must have been present in East Java during the reign of Anantavikrama. With reference to the Āgama and the Ādigama, which Raffles regards as the very foundation of Indonesian jurisprudence, Dr. Juynboll remarked that they were probably composed in the Majapahit period. According to Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, they are later still. The preamble of the *Ādigama*, however, points out that it was codified in 1323 Śaka or 1401 A.D., by the "King of Majapahit, who honoured Buddha".¹ As the *Āgama* is older still, we can probably place it fifty years earlier, i.e., c. 1273 Śaka. As regards the date of other books, we cannot say anything more than that they are later still.

It will appear to careful observers that in spite of

1 *Hindoe-recht in Indonesie*, p. 35.

Indo-Javanese contact from the earliest centuries of the Christian era, no Hindu work on jurisprudence has yet been discovered in Java which may be dated prior to the 10th century A.D. The date of the earliest work extant of Java is the *Śivaśāsana*, and it falls at a time when the *Kawi*-literature was just blooming forth. Indian works on Jurisprudence have been written in Sanskrit and, as this sacred tongue was not intelligible before the compromise-language was developed, it is not very probable that any work of Indian origin would be discovered in future which may be dated before the 8th century A.D. If the theory we have enunciated in the first chapter be correct, this is the logical conclusion. We know, however, from extant inscriptions and records of the country that the terms of Indian polity to designate kings, ministers, etc., were greatly employed, and even the names of cities, like those of Campā,¹ were already Hinduized.

The book *Āgama*, which we have mentioned previously, also goes by the name of *kuṭāramānava*, and it was edited and discussed by Dr. J. C. G. Jonker in 1885 in his book '*Een Oudjavaansch wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechtbronnen*,' i.e., an old-Javanese law-book compared with Indian originals. It is a classical work largely based upon the *Manusamhitā*. The code enjoyed great celebrity in Indonesia, and this appears from a passage in the *Śivaśāsana*, containing the place: "*Dharmaśāstrakuṭāramānavādi*," i.e. the law-codes of kuṭāramānava and others.² According to some other scholars, however, the phrase is a corruption of "Uttama Manu", which is not probable (vide Jonker, *Intro.*, pp. 11-15.) Dr. Juynboll thinks that the work has utilised some other sources as well for propounding some

1 Vide, Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., *Champa*, Introduction.

2 Vide, *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 24.

of its views. In the composition of this law-code, some Balinese influence is noticeable. It is not certain, however, if this book has been referred to in the *Śivaśāsana*; in that case, its date would be considerably earlier.

It describes some regulations with reference to *aṣṭaduṣṭa* and allows a substantial measure of personal right for self-defence. Some specific rules have been embodied in the work, which forbid peoples from lodging complaints in law-courts on particular days and directing men not to indulge in intercourse, etc.,¹ on certain occasions (vide Manu, chap. III, 45).² As regards divorce and remarriage of women, it makes a new departure and recolours Indian injunctions according to their new setting.

The book *Ādigama* is a more recent work and claims to have been based upon the *Rājanīti*. It opens with an invocation to Lord Buddha, "*oṃ namo Buddhāya namaḥ*", the language, however, being a mixture of Sanskrit and Old-Javanese. It also speaks of *aṣṭaduṣṭa*, with which Jonker's edition of the *Kuṭāramūnava* begins, and specifies the nature of *aṣṭacorah*; some regulations with reference to cattle in pasturage, punishment according to gradation of castes have also been set forth. Of more importance, however, is the *Pūrvādhigama* or the *Śivaśāsana*, which we had occasion to mention previously. It was somewhat elaborately noticed by Friederich in 1849 in his 'Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali'.

It opens with—

Avighnam astu. Nihan Puroādhigama-śāsana' śāstra-saro-dṛta purva ramba sang t'las vṛddhucārya rāja purohita, sarva guṇajña, banu (= Bhānu)-rasmi sadṛṣa sarvajanaḥ-daya ta Misraharana, sakālācudāmani sirasī pratiṣṭhita—"

1 Bijdragen T.L.VK., deel 71, pp. 568ff.

2 Cod. 3852 (5 and 9) in Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS., dl II, p. 198.

The above passage shows that the book was composed by Paṇḍit Miśraharāṇa, who has been called a vṛddhā-cārya, rājapurohita, sarvagunañña, crest-jewel of all peoples, etc. The corrupt phrase "*Sakulā-cūḍāmanī-sirasī pratiṣṭhita*" reminds us of similar passages in Indian books and inscriptions. The Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena¹ and the Madhainagara grant of Lakṣmaṇasena² use the phrase "*Karṇāṭa-kṣatriyāṇāṃ kulasirodāmaḥ*" with reference to Sāmantasena. Similarly, the Khalimpur inscription says, "*prakṛtibhir=lakṣmyāḥ karaṇ grāhitāḥ Śrīgopāla iti kṣitīśa-śirasūṃ cūḍāmaṇistat sutaḥ*," etc.³

Apart from literary styles and the constant use of Sanskrit, we find references to the administration of oath-formulas which we also notice in many *Kawi*-records of Java. *Col.* 3958 (2) of this book refers to Wayang or shadow-plays. It also mentions some Śaiva sects like (A)lepaka, Cānaka, Ratnahara, Śambhu as well as Śivapakṣa.⁴ It ends with '*Śivaśūsanāsūrodhṛtasana*.' The book was extant in its older recension in the reign of king Anantavikrama of the Dharmmavaṃśa and is already referred to in an inscription of 991 A.D.⁵ The law-book *Devāgama*, which forms one of the *Sang Hyang Trayāgama* of the law-code *Tattva ning Vyavahāra*, is also known as *Kreta*, *Upapati*, *Kretapapati*, *Dharma Upapati* and *Dharmapapati*.⁶ It is partly based on the Institutes of Manu (Chap. VII). It deals with the charges of false accusation, rules for buying and selling, guidance for debtors and creditors, divorce, etc. The law-code *Krama ning Sākṣi* also contains some Sanskrit verses and, according to Dr. Juynboll, the corrupt Sanskrit śloka in this work—

1 Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 305ff. 2 J.A.S.B., 1909., pp. 467ff.

3 Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 243ff.

4 Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS, dl II.

5 Vide, *Inleiding Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, I, pp. 45ff.

6 Bijdragen T.L.VK., deel 71, p. 568; also *Hindoe recht in Indonesie*, pp. 35ff.

“Gr̥hiṇaḥ putriṇamolaḥ tramanah Kṣatriyaḥ, ityantah
Sākṣyaḥ mahārtti sudaḥ yedapyanindritah”

is suggested in a corresponding śloka of the *Manusamhitā*.¹

Of avowed Indian origin, however, is the work called *Svara-Jambu*. It has been suggested that the title is an obvious corruption of Svayambhū. It is an adaptation or translation of a great part of the 8th Chapter of the *Manusamhitā* (Chap. VIII, Ślokas, 250, 246, 242, 232, 234, 224, 230, 260, 59, 159, 27, 290, 292, 293, 297; Chap. XI, 105 etc.). We proceed with the *Tattva ning Vyavahāra*, which, though not very old, gives us the interesting history of the origin of the four castes. Besides giving the story of creation, it says that the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras came out respectively from Brahmā's forehead, arms, thighs and feet. In the place of forehead, Indian scriptures generally have 'mukham' or mouth.² It inculcates the duties of kings and offers us some informations regarding literature. Some interesting historical data regarding the kings of Tumapel, Kediri and Majapahit can be gleaned from the pages of this law-book. It says that in Kediri ruled the descendants of Viṣṇu and in Majapahit, those of Brahmā. It was, therefore, written at least after the foundation of Majapahit by Raden Vijaya,—which is the theme of the celebrated Middle-Javanese Work *Rangga Lawe*.³ Cod. 882 of Juynboll's Supplement⁴—the *Aṣṭādaśa Vyavahāra*⁵—begins with the familiar Indian formula—*Avighnam astu*. It has been written in pure Old-Javanese, interspersed with Sanskrit. It also speaks

1 Manusamhitā, VIII. 62.

2 Vide Manusamhitā, I. 31.

3 It may be seen in Vreede, Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. HSS, Cod. 2218; also in Raffles' *History of Java*, Vol. II, 1830, pp. 112ff.

4 Vol. II.

5 "Aṣṭādaśa vyavahāra" is also described in the Manusamhitā, Chap. VIII, Ślokas 3ff.

of the *aṣṭaduṣṭas*, which we noticed in connexion with the *Ādigama*. Like the previous law-code, it also refers to Majapahit and, therefore, its earliest date cannot be pushed beyond the date of the foundation of Majapahit.

Devadaṇḍa,¹ another book of the same category, is also known as *Dharmavicāra*. Both the names are clearly Sanskritic—the one meaning ‘sceptre of the gods,’ while the other signifies ‘administration of law.’ It says that it has been written in old-language which, we believe, modern linguists will not deny. It states further that Viṣṇu incarnated on earth to punish evil-doers. The title of the book appears on p. 24 of *Cod.* 3957. (1).² It runs into 35 articles and has been written, as said before, in Old-Javanese or *Kawi*.

In Indonesian law-codes, the king is represented as the judge, who fixes days for hearing cases. Constantly we come across references to the administration of oath-formulas. The king in the rôle of a judge is described in the ancient literature of Greece, Rome, India, Java, Bali and other countries. The *Manusamhitā* says :—

“Amātya-mukhyaṃ dharmajñāṃ prājñāṃ dāntaṃ
kulodgatam/
Sthāpayed āsane tasmin khinnaḥ kāryekṣaṇe
nr̥ṇām//.”³

“The king will have to discharge his functions as a judge as long as he is well ; when ill, he ought to be relieved by a learned *amātya* or Mantrin”. In Javanese and Indian literature, it is stated that the king is assisted by some learned Brāhmaṇas, who, in his absence, discharge the functions of judges. Indeed, the *Manusamhitā* explicitly states⁴ :—

1 Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK., deel 18, 1872., pp. 295ff.

2 Suppl. Cat. Jav. en. Mad. HSS, dl II.

3 Manusamhitā, VII. 141; cf. VII. 20-21.

4 Ibid, VIII, 9; vide also *Hindoe-recht in Indonesie*, p. 116ff.

“Yadā svayaṃ na kuryāt tu nṛpatiḥ kāryadarśanam
Tadā niyuñjyād vidvāṃsaṃ Brāhmaṇaṃ kāryadarśane”

It has been noted that the administration of oath-formulas and ordeals has been constantly referred to in the law-codes of Java and Bali. In many inscriptions of Java, oath has distinctly been mentioned in various places. Ordeals, which were resorted to in cases of grave offence, were believed to be efficacious in discovering the real wrong-doer, who might otherwise escape the punishments of law. This peculiar custom was not only prevalent among the Indo-Aryan and Austronesian peoples, but also among the Teutons, etc. The proximity of Java to India should not, therefore, be adduced as an argument for supposing that these peculiar customs were derived from India, where ordeals and administration of oath-formulas were frequently resorted to. An analysis of details will clearly demonstrate that the systems both in India as well as in Indonesia were of indigenous growth. Before we work out our hypothesis, it is perhaps necessary to point out that the picture of the caste-ridden Indian society was fully represented in Bali, where there were the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Now, in administering oath to the Balinese Śūdras, they were asked to drink some charmed water, in which a lontar-leaf inscribed with oath-formulas was thrown. For the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, sprinkling of oath-water was regarded as sufficient. To the Brāhmaṇas, even the hearing of the formula served the purpose of oath-administration.¹ A very lurid picture of the future was also drawn at the same time as a warning to those who might give false evidence.² As in India, so also in Indonesia, the

1 *Vide Hindoe-recht in Indonesie*, p. 129.

2 *Manusamhitā*, VIII 88-101; also cf. *Hindoe-recht in Indonesie*, p. 129.

witnesses who gave evidence on oath, were asked to appear at a temple (in the presence of Brāhmaṇas—Manu). The oath which was administered in the temples was called Madeva-Sakṣi by the Balinese peoples, the phrase Madeva-Sākṣi being probably derived from Mahādeva-Sākṣi, *i.e.* 'Lord Śiva is a witness. When both the parties were concerned, this process of oath-administration was called Madevagama, which, we think, may mean either 'the law of Lord Śiva' or 'a visit to Lord Śiva.'

Now, the *Manusamhitā* states¹ that in administering oaths, one should say "Tell" to the Brāhmaṇas, "Tell the truth" to the Kṣatriyas, "Swear by cow, seed and gold" to the Vaiśyas" and, "Swear by all your sins" to the Śūdras. In the case of the Śūdras, however, *Manusamhitā* also recommends a separate procedure. It states that the Śūdras may also be tested by fire or water-ordeal, or by making them touch the head of their wives and sons. If they are not burnt by fire or soon floated by water,² then the veracity of their oaths may be taken for granted.³ It will appear from this description that, though temple-going is a common feature of early Indian and Indonesian system of administering oaths, details in connexion with the process do not agree. It must be admitted, however, that the same spirit has been maintained in the Indian as well as the Indonesian law-codes. Manu does not explicitly state anywhere if oath-water was a necessity in ancient Indian courts.

In the Hindu law of evidence, women, though excluded as a general rule, were allowed to appear in

1 *Manusamhitā*, VIII. 88ff.; *vide* a slightly different account in Kautilya, pp. 217ff., ed. Shama Sastri, 1923.

2 It appears from this that the man in question was thrown into water with a heavy weight on his body.

3 *Vide* *Manusamhitā*, VIII. 114-115.

certain cases.¹ The reason adduced for their exclusion was :—

“Eko'lubdhas = tu sākṣī syād = bahvyaḥ śucyo'pi na
striyaḥ

Stribuddher = asthīratvāt tu doṣaiś = cā = nye'pi ye
vṛtāḥ”²

In Balinese law-courts, they were allowed to appear as legal witnesses. In this respect, Indonesian women seemed to stand on a higher plane than their Indian sisters. In respect of undesirable intercourse, however, between persons of different sexes, Indonesian law-codes seem to be equally stringent with their Indian counter-parts. By article 242 of the *Āgama*,³ if a man of comparatively lower standing is illegally united with a woman of the higher rank, he must be killed. This sweeping rule has, however, been slightly modified by Art. 251 of the *Āgama*. The *Manusamhitā* generally recommends fines. But in extreme cases, mutilation of limbs and even capital punishment have been explicitly recommended.⁴

The position of the Brāhmaṇas in Indian and Indonesian Jurisprudence is unique. Manu,⁵ the staunch protagonist of Brāhmaṇical privileges, states in unambiguous terms :—

“Na jātu Brāhmaṇaṃ hanyāt sarvapāpeṣv = api sthitam

Rāṣṭrād = enaṃ bahiṣkuryāt samagra-dhanam = akṣatam”

[“If a Brāhmaṇa is the worst sinner, still he cannot be killed—he will merely be expelled from the country with all his riches”]. Because, as Manu adds, there is no greater crime

1 *Vide* Manusamhitā, VIII. 68, 70.

2 *Ibid*, VIII. 77.

3 *Vide Hindoe-recht in Indonesie*, p. 112.

4 *Vide* Manusamhitā, VIII, 352ff, particularly 359, 366, 371, 372, 374.

5 *Ibid*, VIII. 380.; cf. VIII. 381.

than killing a Brāhmaṇa. The king should not, therefore, think of passing a capital sentence on the Brāhmaṇas even in dream! Similar is the tenor of the Balinese Jurisprudence.¹ Art. 245 of the *Āgama*, however, mentions a case in which a Brāhmaṇa may be killed without being tortured. This reminds us of the only reference in Kauṭilya, who recommends the king to drown a Brāhmaṇa accused of high treason.² One interesting fact to be noticed in this connexion is that the fine depends, as in early Indian law-codes, upon the position of the injured one in the social scale. In killing a Śūdra-thief, for example, one is fined 40,000 kempengs till we rise to 160,000 for killing a Brāhmaṇa-thief. According to the *Āgama*, this is the maximum fine. In the *Devadāṇḍa*, as well as in other works, caste-considerations have been given undue prominence, and they have greatly vitiated the ideals of law and justice. Some regulations with reference to slaves, lending of gold or money, keeping ferocious dogs that bite others, cutting out dykes of fields, etc., have been dealt with in the law-code called *Devadāṇḍa*. As regards inheritance, where a Brāhmaṇa has sons by wives of different castes, the law of Bali seems to follow, though in spirit only, some of the regulations laid down by Manu.³ Because, though the wives' *varṇa* is a determining factor in both, the details do not concur.

Śārasamuccaya is also a law-book, in which we come across a large number of Sanskrit ślokas followed by an Old-Javanese translation. According to Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, this work is identical with *Radja Nistjaja*. *Manusamhitā*, *Harivaṃśa* and some other books of Indian origin have supplied the main legal theories of this interesting work.

1 *Vide* Āgama, p. 87; *Hindoe-recht in Indonésie*, p. 100.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, chap. XI, p. 277; also *Ibid*, p. 270, ed. Shama Sastri, 1923.

3 *Manusamhitā*, Chap. IX. 149ff.

Cod. 3852 (10) of this book opens with an anecdote of Viṣṇu, who goes to rule over Meḍang under the assumed name of Tawkandyāwan and begot four sons, *viz.*, Mangukuhan, Karungkalah, Saṇḍagarbha and Katumalars.¹ While discussing *Cod.* 4469 of this work, Dr. Juynboll pointed out that some of its verses were derived from VII, 97; I, 88; X, 4, etc., of the *Manusamhitā*, 4245th verse of the *Harivaṃśa*; verses 1558, 1559, 1560 of the *Udyogaparvan*, 296th verse of the *Aśvamedhikaparvan*, etc.²

With this, we bring our discussion on Indo-Javanese Jurisprudence to a close. The survey which we have made above has probably demonstrated the great kinship of the *Mānavadharmasūtra* to the legal literature of Java and Bali. The fiction of divine origin has been strengthened further by the maintenance of Sanskrit ślokas in the law-codes of Indonesia. It ought to be remembered, however, that the laws of adoption and inheritance are somewhat different in Java and Bali. Similarly, divorce and remarriage of women, which are not generally countenanced by Hindu law, make a substantial departure from Indian law-codes. It is painful to think, however, that the Indian colonists of Java and Bali, who gave a newer orientation to every form of Indonesian culture, did not show, at least there is no proof that they did show, any aptitude for bettering the conditions of the Javanese and the Balinese women in the eyes of law. It is quite true that the Indian Jurisprudence of ancient times could not rise in this respect to the height of the Egyptian law-codes, or even the *Code of Hammurabi*. Still the colonists, who had adapted themselves to the peculiar environment of the Javanese society, could have at least tried to improve the position of Indonesian women, with whom they must have come into contact in different walks of life. The probable reason for this passivity, we

1 *Vide* Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. HSS, dl II, p. 193.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 276.

think, is that the position of Indonesian women, though not very high, was at least similar to, or a little better than that of their Indian sisters. Indian jurists of Java and Bali, who were imbued with the ideals of the *Manusamhitā*, could not easily get rid of those obnoxious legal theories of ancient times. A general review of the earlier portions of the ninth chapter in the *Manusamhitā* would clearly demonstrate the actual position of women in the classical period of India's history. People who viewed women in this light could hardly improve their position elsewhere. It is, therefore, no wonder that the *Nītiśāstra-kawī* of Java lays down in a similar tone, "For the saying is : that a raven can sooner turn white and the tañjang-plant (water-lily) grow from a rocky place than a woman can be upright." This vilification of womanhood throws a lurid light on the early Indo-Javanese Jurisprudence, which was evolved to suit the requirements of this peculiarly-constituted society. It has to be further observed that the law-codes of Java and Bali, like those of India, do not betray any democratic outlook. The sanctity of Brāhmaṇism and caste-theories has been a stumbling-block in the way of meting out equal justice to all. But, as these factors were the legacy of earlier times, peoples had to submit to these harsh regulations without any apparent demur. Barring all these obvious difficulties in the way of awarding equal justice to all, the purity of *Daṇḍanīti* was maintained throughout. Indeed *Cod* 3796 in Juynboll's supplement says :—

"Yo naraḥ pīḍayet (read, pīḍayed) rājñā daṇḍyo (read, daṇḍaḥ) so (read, sa) na kadācana"

CHAPTER VI

WARIGA AND CONNECTED LITERATURE

We shall discuss this branch of literature under three sub-divisions, *viz.*, (a) Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody and Rhetoric, (b) *Usada* (Medical Science) and *Wariga* (Astrology or Astronomy), and (c) Cosmogony and Mythology or Mythical Chronology. The grandeur of the Javanese epic literature generally arrests the attention of average readers, who are apt to forget that the creation of the main structure has been possible for its secure foundation on the forms of Sanskrit Grammar¹, Lexicography, Prosody and Rhetoric, which, along with the national tradition of India, have served as an inexhaustible quarry to the classical writers of the Indo-Javanese period. These elements, though exotic, were at the root of the sudden efflorescence of the *Kawi*-literature of Java. An analysis of these foreign forms in the Old-Javanese literature will, therefore, enable us to gauge the depth of Indian cultural influence on the islands of Java and Bali, and enable us to assess the real value of the Indo-Javanese literature, which has appeared to be, more or less, a facsimile of that of India. Indeed, an examination will show that the Javanese writers were no less proficient than Sanskrit authors in the handling of Sanskrit Chandaḥ and Alaṅkāra. Some works on Metrics, like those on Grammar, Lexicography, *Usada* and *Wariga*, have escaped the ravages of time. These were doubtless supplemented by some works on Alaṅkāra (Rhetoric), but at this distance of date no vestiges of them have remained behind except what we can painfully glean from the *Kawi*-works themselves. They betray a

1 Its influence is not so conspicuous as that of the other three of group (a).

marvellous knowledge of Sanskrit Rhetoric, used with a good amount of success, and hence, they raise a presumption about the wide prevalence of the rules of Sanskrit Alaṅkāra in the writings of the Indo-Javanese authors. Some of the writers undertook to edit Vocabulary or Lexicography of Sanskrit, and some even went so far as to write Sanskrit-Javanese grammars. Indeed, the *Kawi*-authors of the classical period had sometimes to perform the double function of a school-master and a poet, and there are records to show that some writers were both. With these preliminary remarks, let us now pass into the subject proper, which we propose to open with a review of group (a).

(a) *Grammar, Lexicography, Prosody and Rhetoric*

In the group of Indo-Javanese Grammatical and Lexicographical literature, we fortunately possess some works. Of them, especial importance attaches to the *Ādisvara*, *Ekalavya*, *Kṛtavasa*, *Sukṣavaśa*, *Caṇṭakaparva* and the *Svaravyaṇjana*. The last-mentioned work is an avowed Sanskrit-Javanese Grammar, though *Kṛtavasa* and *Cod.* 3895 (1) in Juynboll's Supplement¹ also offer some interesting grammatical rules.

The *Svaravyaṇjana*² is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the vowels and the consonants—the svaras and the vyaṇjanas. The second part deals with conjugation and Sanskrit composition. The work offers some interesting Sandhi-rules. In the list of vowels, which it offers, we find only *a*, *ā*, *e*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *e* (as in Eng. 'mess'), *ai*, *o*, *aḥ*, *om*; the corresponding long sounds of these vowels have not found place in the list. Dr. Juynboll thinks, however, that the omitted letters might have been

1 *Vide* Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss., dl. II, p. 281.

2 *Vide* Bijdragen T. L. Vk., 6th series VIII, p. 630ff.

present in the original of this MS¹. *Cod.* 3896 (1) also speaks of the anusvāras and the vyañjanas.

In the list of consonants, *kha*, *cha*, *jha*, *ṭha*, *ḍha* have been omitted, and there has been some confusion over the placing of the three s's. In Sanskrit, we have ś, ṣ, s; but here, s has been accommodated before ś and ṣ. It should be noted, however, that the order of all letters—vowels as well as consonants—is perfect in the Mahāyānist work, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*², which, in its present form, probably existed in the 10th century A.D.

The short sounds (e.g., *a*, *e*, etc.) are said to be 'ekamātra', and the long ones (e.g., *ā*), 'dvimātra', i.e., one syllabic instant is allotted to a short vowel and two to a long vowel. The double sounds (e.g., *ai*, *ah*, etc.), unlike Sanskrit, are known as 'trimātra.' The vyañjanas, on the other hand, have been divided into 'ghoṣa,' 'anunāsika,' 'antasvara,' etc. Further, our author speaks of 'udantya' (evidently a corruption of 'udātta') and 'anudantya' (i.e., anudātta) varṇas. The svaras or vowels are again considered in two broad divisions, viz.,—*dirgha* i.e. *guru* and *laghu*, i.e., short, while the vyañjanas come under the headings of 'mūrddhanya' (cerebral), 'tālavya' (palatal) 'dantya' (dental), 'mahāprāṇa' and 'alpaprāṇa.' We miss here 'auṣṭhya' and 'jihvāmūliya.' The Javanese people, obviously, understood these technical terms, and this appears from the explanations they have offered, e.g., 'mūrddhanya' has been explained as *ikang aksara médal ing Sirah*, etc., i.e., the sound of the letter originating from the head (=mūrddhā).³

Now we come across Sandhi-rules. The writer says: '*ikang ikāra dadi ya*', i.e., 'i' should be changed into 'y', and he has offered some illustrations thereof, from which

1 It is *Cod.* 4315h at the Leiden Bibliothek.

2 J. Kats, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 1910, pp. 53-55.

3 The Sanskrit rule is: 'Ṛturaṣāṇām mūrddhā'.

we select only ai+am=ayam. According to the Sanskrit rule,¹ it should have been āyam. The other rules are, 'ukara dadi wa', i. e., 'u' should be 'w', and the example he gives, viz., ba+u+i=bawi, exactly fits in with the Sanskrit rule, by which we have tested the previous example. Further, he says that if the vowel 'a' is followed by 'u', they will compound into 'o', and the example he cites in illustration thereof is, no doubt, very interesting. Because, it is no other than our much too familiar example of 'Gaṅgodaka' (=Gaṅgā+Udaka),² which we used to read in schools. After the svāra-sandhi, we come across the vyañjana and the visarga-sandhi. They have also been explained in the above manner and, therefore, we do not think it necessary to offer any more example. A work of similar nature has also been referred to in *Cod.* 3173 (1) of Juynboll's Supplement³, where we notice the *Ngalamat Serat Sandhi Sestra*; in Prof. Vreede's Catalogue⁴ also, we came across one *Serat Sandi Sutra*.⁵

The second part of the *Svaravyañjana* is called Kṛtavasa (probably a corruption from 'Saṃskṛta bhāṣā'), and it has sought to give some instructions on Sanskrit composition. It begins with—

Saḥ vrkṣaḥ=ikang kayu

Saḥ vrkṣaḥ tiṣṭhati=lāgi yah

In the second example, the author has not translated the first two words, as they have been rendered before into Javanese, and he thought that the translation of *tiṣṭhati* was enough for conveying the sense. It is almost similar to the

1 *Eco'yavāyāval*—*ecah kramāday av āy āv ete syuraci (pare)*. Pāṇini, VI. I. 78 and Bhaṭṭoji's *vṛtti* thereon.

2 By the rule, 'ādguṇaḥ | avarṇādaci pare pūrvāparayoreko guṇādeśaḥ syāt.' Pāṇini, VI. I. 87 and Bhaṭṭoji's *vṛtti* on it.

3 Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss., dl. II, p. 218.

4 Vreede, Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss., 1892, pp. 362-363.

5 For sandhi-rules of Kawi-grammar, vide Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. VIII, p. 185ff; also, IX, p. 4ff.

use of 'ityartha' in Sanskrit. Then the writer furnishes some examples of neuter gender :

Tat kānanam = ikang alas

Tat kānanam kusumitam = makambang iya

It is noteworthy that the translator has not committed any mistake in rendering them from Sanskrit to Javanese. After giving a few more examples in neuter gender, the writer ventures to illustrate some cases in feminine gender :—

Saḥ¹ latā = ikā udwad

Some examples of instrumental cases like 'Tena Vṛkṣeṇa,' etc., have also been given ; so also some examples to illustrate the plural numbers. *Cod.* 4259, called *Kṛtavasa*², describes the conjugation of verbs towards the end. The verb 'tiṣṭhati', for example, has been conjugated in the following manner :—

Tiṣṭati, Tiṣṭataḥ, Tiṣṭante.

Cod. 5075 of the Lombok collection contains a Sanskrit grammar with interlinear Old-Javanese translation. The first section of it deals with the Kāraḥ and ends with 'Iti kārakaśaṁgraha(ṇ) samāptaṁ.' The second section opens with 'Avighnam astu', and furnishes a list of the names of different Samāsas and various constructions thereof. The name of Pāṇini is rather interesting. The *versus memoriales*³ which mention his name run as follows :
Dviguḥ tatpuruṣo dvandvaḥ karmadhāraya tathaiḥ ca, bahuvrīhyam vyayībhavoḥ samāsaḥ Pāṇinestu ṣaṭ. King Indravarman III of Campā is also said to have been

1 Read 'Sā'.

2 Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss., dl II, p. 207; also, Bijdragen T. L. VK., 3rd Series, VI, 1872, pp. 80-81.

3 It has evidently been corrupted; the chandaḥ has also been spoilt. It might be that the original was, 'Dvigustatpuruṣo dvandvas tathā ca karmadhārayaḥ, bahuvrīhyavyayībhāvaḥ samāsaḥ Pāṇinestu ṣaṭ.'

versed in Pāṇini's Grammar with Kāśikā, the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas.¹ So it appears that the Grammar of Pāṇini was known in Greater India, but when, if at all, this came to Java is difficult to say. The above *versus memoriales* might have passed to Java as a traditional lore without the actual work being ever present among the Indo-Javanese grammarians. Our *Cod.* ends with 'Iti samāsaḥ samāptaḥ.'

There are some works on Lexicography and, of them, *Ādisvara*² is one. Its spellings, however, are very corrupt, though the general tenor of the subject does not differ from some other books of this category. 'Kṣiti', for example, has been spelt as 'siti,' 'bhūtala' as 'buṭala', 'bhāṣā' as 'baṣa' and so on. The *Ekalavya*,³ also a dictionary, begins with 'om avighnam astu namaḥ siddhaṁ' [*Cod.* 5140 (2)]. It gives synonyms for earth, water, trees, metals, etc., and for deities like Viṣṇu, Kāma and others. It further furnishes a list of the synonyms of Prince, Brāhmaṇa, different parts of the body and so forth. The work *Kṛtavasa*, which we have described previously, also gives a list of the names of Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa, samādhi, pūjā, vrata, and ekacitta. We get here 29 names of Indra, 31 of Agni, 27 of Vāyu, 29 of Kāma, 48 of Moon, 59 of Paṇḍita (i.e. Brāhmaṇa), 28 of birds, 48 of snakes (ulā), 9 of Yama, 8 of Bṛhaspati and 29 names of king. *Cod.* 5175 offers a list of the names of the celestial nymphs, such as Padmamūrti, Tañjung biru, Gagar Mayanga and Sulasih.⁴ Ten names of Moon occur in this *Cod.* as well as in *Cod.* 2049 (5) of Prof. Vreede's Catalogue.⁵ They are Śaṣī, Sitangsu, Sasangku, Condra, Bassanta, Rati, Sasadara, Endung, Prabanca and Tien. Part of the *Cantaka-*

1 R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, 1927, p. 232.

2 Juynboll, Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss., dl. II, *Cod.* 4009.

3 *Ibid.*, Codices 3906 (1) and 5140 (2).

4. *Ibid.*

5 Vreede, Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss., 1892.

parva,¹ a prose work, contains some explanations of words for Sun, Moon, Gods, 7 vidyādhārīs, and pretends to offer an exposition of "all myths". It does not appear to be a very old work, because some Chinese and Arabic words have crept into it.

Of greater importance, however, is a Sanskrit-*Kawi* dictionary,² which is available at the Library of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. It partakes of the nature of Sanskrit *koṣas* or dictionaries, offering Sanskrit synonyms for particular words. It has, for example, the following verses on 'Deva' or God :—

"Amarās Tridaśāḥ proktāḥ Gīrvāṇā Vibudhāḥ Surāḥ
Vṛndārakā Aditijāḥ Nirjarā Dānavadviṣāḥ ॥

Lekhāḥ Svarvāsino 'svapnāḥ Tridiveśāḥ

Sudhāśīnaḥ ।

Devāḥ svargasado 'martyāḥ Rbhavo 'mṛtapās tathā ॥

Āditeyāḥ Sumanasaḥ Suparvāṇo Divaukasaḥ ।

Devatās tāḥ Striyāmuktāḥ Śaṇḍhe 'tha

Daivatāni ca ॥ "

By comparing this list,³ as also some others, with relevant passages of the celebrated Lexicography of Amaraśiṃha, we come to notice that the arrangement of synonyms differs in each, while some new words appear in both. The number of words, in each of these ślokaś, remains approximately the same. More interesting, however, is the list of synonyms for Lord Śiva, who enjoyed a unique position of honour among the Buddhists and the Śaivas of Java and Bali. The last portion of the list has been mutilated, but the legible portion⁴ runs as follows :—

1 Juynboll, Suppl.-Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss., dl. II; *God.* 4575.

2 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, p. 275ff.

3 Cf. Amarakoṣa, Bk. I, Chap. 1, Sec. I, H. T. Colebrooke's edition, 1808.

4 cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. Our remarks do not differ from those made on the previous list.

"Śivasarvavirūpākṣāḥ¹ Mahādevo Maheśvaraḥ ।
 Śrīkaṇṭhaḥ Śaṅkaro Bhargaḥ Somadhṛt
 (read, 'dhṛn) Nīlaloṭitaḥ ॥
 Kaparddī ca Kṛttivāsāḥ Rudro Gaṅgādharo
 Harah ॥
 Kṛṣānureṭāḥ Kāmāriḥ Pinākī Vṛṣaketanaḥ ॥
 Dūrjatis (Read, Dhūrjatis) Tryambako Bhīmaḥ
 Sarvajña Giriśo Mṛḍaḥ ।
 Ugraḥ Paśupatiḥ Śūli Vāmadevo
 Gaṇādhipaḥ ॥
 Īśa Īśvara Īśanaḥ Kapālī Parameśvaraḥ ।
 Śipiviṣṭo Vyomakeśaḥ Tripurāris Trilocanaḥ ॥
 Vṛṣabhadhvajaḥ Kratuḥ (-dhvaṁsī Bhūteśaś
 Candrasekharah)² ।
 (Sambhuḥ Śarvo Bhavaḥ Sthāṇuḥ Śūlabhṛt
 Somabhṛd Dharah"

...

Similarly, some other ślokas have been devoted to the enumeration of the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śrī, Buddha, Kuvera, Kāmadeva and other deities. It may not be proper to regard this Sanskrit-*kāvī koṣa* as a credit to Indo-Javanese scholarship, still it serves to show the

1 Read Śivasarvavirūpākṣā.

2 The above reconstruction may be suggested. 'Kratuḥ' by itself can never be the name of Śiva and, therefore, 'ḥ' is probably a mistake. As the given list approximately tallies with that of the *Amarakoṣa*, we may accept 'Kratudhvaṁsī' from the latter as a probable synonym. Of the words not given here, 'Bhūteśaścandraśekharaḥ' of *Amarakoṣa* upkeeps the requirements of the prosody if only we read 'Vṛṣadhvajah' in the place of 'Vṛṣabhadhvajah'. *Kāvī*-writings, if they are faithfully represented in Dutch transcriptions, have misused 'ḥ' here and there, and, therefore, Kratu (-dhvaṁsī) might have been intended in the original.

influence of Indian culture on Java¹, and particularly the influence of some deities, who were in the lime-light during the Middle-Ages, when this interesting *Koṣa* was compiled. This probably necessitated their incorporation in this dictionary to the exclusion of many other deities.

We should note in this connexion that Naiyāyika-darśana and Nyāya śāstra have also been referred to in 'Kawi-Oorkonden', Nos. lxviii, lxxxiii.

Now that we have discussed the Grammar and Lexicography of Indo-Japanese origin, we may proceed with the Prosody and Rhetoric of these islands and try to find out Sanskrit elements in their forms. But before we take up the subject proper, we shall make some general observations on Indo-Japanese Chandaḥ and Alaṅkāra. It is interesting to note that our Javanese authors have carefully followed the dictum of Sanskrit critics, which may be expressed in the language of Viśvanātha Kavirāja : '*Ādan namaskriyāśīr vā vastunirdēśa eva vā*'. Accordingly many works of the classical period of Indo-Japanese history open with a phrase of benediction, generally with, '*om avighnam astu*', which is sometimes followed by salutation to Śiva, Sarasvatī, Buddha, Gaṇeśa, or other deities. The introductory portions of the *Bhuvanakoṣa* and the *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa*, to name only two books out of many, may illustrate the point, enabling us to compare them with similar portions of the *Raghuvamśam*, the *Mudrārākṣasam*, etc. This will serve to show a strange communion in the literary ideals of the Indo-Japanese authors, who have not infrequently introduced this practice towards the closing portion of their works. The Javanese *Kṛṣṇāntaka*, the *Śivaśāsana*, the *Sang Hyang Hayu*, the *Vratīśāsana* may be adduced to illustrate the point. To offer a description of the poet and his family was also a custom widely prevalent among the classical writers of India and Java. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* of Pra-

1 Cf. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, p. 281.

pañca, the *Arjunavivāha* of Mpu Kanva, the *Śiṣupālavadhā* of Māgha, the *Harṣacaritam* of Bāṇa are quite good examples. In writing works in *Kawi*-poesy or Kakawin, the writers of old Java have drawn upon the vast resources of the Sanskrit literature, and have sought to beautify their works with a lavish use of Indian Chandaḥ and Alaṅkāra. Metres like Sragdharā, Triṣṭubh, Rucirā, Vasantatilaka, Mandākrāntā, etc., have been judiciously used to enhance the grace of their compositions, and Sanskrit Alaṅkāras like Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Apahnuti, etc., have added an additional lustre to their Indianised literature. Reserving the subject for a more adequate treatment later on, it may be said in passing that though the Javanese authors have generally observed the rule, "*Ekavṛttamayaiḥ Padyaiḥ*,"¹ they have done so at the sacrifice of the remaining portion of the dictum, *viz.*, '*Avasāne'nyavṛttakaiḥ*,' both of which have been usually followed in Sanskrit. Let us now pass into the subject proper.

The well-known work on Prosody, the *Vṛttasañcaya* or Collection of Metres, was edited by Dr. Friederich about 80 years ago.² In an introduction to this work, he observed that the book is of Indian origin, containing *versus memoriales*, which are something like short Pāṇini sūtras intended for committing those rules to memory, and that the work has been written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Polynesian *Kawi*. This book further mentions a treatise on metrics, called *Piṅgalakoṣa*, which would naturally remind us of the Sanskrit *Piṅgalacchandaḥsūtra* of India. The *Piṅgalakoṣa* served as a model to our author, Mpu Tanakung, and he based his work on this book of Sage Piṅgala, who, as

1 This rule has been violated, for example, in the 6th canto of the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, 4th canto of the Indian *Śiṣupālavadhā*, 5th canto of the *Kirātārjunīyam*, 9th canto of the *Raghuvamśam*, etc.

2 Verhand. Bat. Genoot, 1849, dl XXII.

tradition says, held discourses in the guise of a nāga. As the titles of *Piṅgalakoṣa* and *Piṅgalacchandaḥsūtra* seem to be near-related, one may conjecture that these two works on Prosody are identical. But the result of a comparative study of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, instituted by Dr. Kern, with the Sanskrit *Piṅgalacchandaḥsūtra* and Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara*, has not borne any positive fruit,—no valuable relationship has been established among these works of Indo-Japanese versification.¹ Though we do not obtain much result from this point of view, our conclusion on the subject is not barren at all. Indeed, Kern points out that for an adequate appreciation of Sanskrit metrics, it is necessary to have a sound grasp of the main principles of *Kāvī*-Prosody, and this is no small gain to the literary history of ancient India. It should be remembered, however, that the book merely offers an exposition of 'Vṛttas'; 'Mātrāchandaḥ' and 'Ganachandaḥ' have found no place in this Old-Japanese work on Prosody.

In the theoretical part of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, the author sums up the names of the classes of metres, which begin with strophes extending from 4×1 feet to 4×27 feet. Mere theories are described in strophes from 3-8, while the practical part or model strophes run from 9-108. Of these 100 strophes, 104, 105, 106 and 107 being examples of metres discussed in the earlier part of the work, we practically find here only 96 pure Indian Chandaḥs. The author has devoted some space for Daṇḍaka, which is almost half-prose and half-poetry. It is no wonder, therefore, that in spite of proper rhyme at the end of verses, the Daṇḍaka hears almost a prose composition. In the place of 96 pure Indian Chandaḥs of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, we get only 85 in *Cod.* 5109 (2)². According to Dr. Juynboll, the measures in the *Caṇṭakaparva*³ also

1 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. IX, p. 95ff.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 289.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 219, *Cod.* 4573.

materially differ from those in Tanakung's *Vṛttasañcaya*. In the Middle-Javanese literature of the Kidung-class, we come across some examples of an entirely different kind of Chandaḥ, e.g., the Macapat metre, the Tengahan metre and so forth.

We know from the book itself that the writer of this *Kawi*-work was Mpu Tanakung. Though it has been surmised by some scholars that the second name of our author was Cakravāka, it is not easy to record one's opinion on this point. Because, the colophon, which mentions his name, is not explicit, and it runs as follows :—

“*Iti Vṛttasañcaya || Cakravākadūtacarita || Tanakung ||*”

The literal meaning of the relevant phrase would be, ‘History of the Duck-messenger’. Though the phrase certainly reminds one of the name of Kālidāsa’s immortal *Meghadūtam*, the propriety of introducing the phrase here will always be questioned by scientific investigators. The date of this interesting *Kawi*-work is inter-linked with the problems of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, thus furnishing a most perplexing Gordian knot in the field of literature. We, therefore, reserve this point for discussion later on, where we shall consider not only the date of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, but also the date of the *Lubdhaka* and the *Smaradahana*, which, on account of tradition and internal evidences, have yielded one of the most vexed problems of Indo-Javanese literature.

It would be a great mistake, however, to regard these works as a mere theoretical exposition of the Indian metres. If we analyse the 6th song of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* of Yogīśvara, we find, for example, that the first 18 strophes of this song have been tried in Upendravajrā; strophes nos. 19-26 in Śārdūla; 27 in Aupacchandāsika; 28-63 in Mālīnī; 64-113 in Anuṣṭubh; 114-141 in Candrāvartā; 142-159 in Vasanta-tilaka; 160-171 in Śikhariṇī; 172-195 in Upajāti; 196 in Indravajrā; 198 in Upendravajrā; 199-200 in a kind of Dhṛti; 201-203 in Mattamayūra. Similarly, song no. 44 of

the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* has been tried in Suvadanā ; 45 in a kind of Kṛti ; 46 in Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; 47 in Vasanta-tilaka and so forth. We have taken here a few examples at random, and it is not difficult to multiply such instances. Let us scan one strophe to see the working method of an Indian Chandaḥ in relation to Old-Javanese poesy or *Kawi*.

Take, for example, the following instance in Bhujaṅga-prayāta, which, as is well-known, is expressed by the rule *Bhujaṅgaprayātam caturbhir yakāraiḥ*. To use the symbols of scansion,

— — — — —

the strophe is,

ya ya ya ya

“Aneñ neritī pwa Sakeñ parvatāgōñ

ya ya ya ya

Gunuñ mās Aruṇyā nāranyā Suteja

ya ya ya ya

Ya tā caṅkrama śrī mahānilakapthā

ya ya ya ya

kariñ muñcavān mās pucaknyātīśobha”¹

From what we have said before, it would appear that the Javanese authors were no less proficient than Sanskrit writers in the handling of various Chandaḥs, which, as we have seen, are derived from India. It is not much known, that the *Kawi*-writers were equally at home in Sanskrit Rhetoric, called Alaṅkāra, *i.e.*, ornament or embellishment. In the following few lines, we shall try to measure the success they attained in the

1 *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* Kakawin, Song XI, Strophe I.

use of Indian Rhetoric. Because, no poet, however great, can do away with Alaṅkāra or grace, which lends additional charm to his composition. Every poet, therefore, seeks to bring in a harmony of symphony and style. When a word-magician, for example, writes : '*Rajanī Śaṅgaṇ ghana, ghana dēyā garajana rimihimi śabade variṣe,*' he naturally tries to arrange his words in such a way that the reading of the verse immediately brings out in a most exquisite form the picture of a rain-drained sky in the month of July to the reader's imagination.¹ So sweetness, word-play and imagination-drill are the very soul of poetry. Let us see, how our *Kawī*-writers have fared in respect of judiciously using various forms of Sanskrit Rhetoric like Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Apahnuti, Upamā, Rūpaka and so forth for enhancing the grace of their works.

About Anuprāsa, Daṇḍin says :—

"Varṇāvṛttir anuprāsaḥ pādeṣu ca padeṣu ca
Pūrvānubhava-saṃskāra-bodhinī yadyadūrātā."²

The repetition of like letter or syllable, which is the characteristic of Sanskrit Anuprāsa, is not an uncommon feature in Indo-Javanese Kāvya. Though many poets, Indian as well as Javanese, have sought to cover their poverty of imagination with the brilliance of letter-play, it has still produced a great effect in the hands of master-artists. Viśvanātha Kavirāja has furnished some brilliant examples in his *Sāhityadarpaṇam*,³ of which we select a couplet from Chekānuprāsa.

"Unmīlan madhu-gandha-lubdha-madhupa-vyā-
dhūta-cūtāṅkura/ Krīḍat kokila-kākali-kala-kalair
udgīrṇa-karṇa-jvarāḥ—"

1 cf. "Yeṣāṃ Kāvyaṇuśīlanābhyaśavaśād=viśadībhūte *Mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayībhāvanayogyatā te hrdaya-saṃvāda-bhāṣaḥ Sahṛdayāḥ*". Abhinavagupta, *Dhvanyālokalocana*, p. 11, *Kāvyamālā* edition.

2 *Kāvyaadarśaḥ*, 1, 55ff.

3 Chap. 10, p. 534, Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara's edition, 3rd impression.

It will be observed that this form also recalls some characteristic structure of versification in Old English and other Teutonic languages. Be it noted, however, that the rules of Indo-Javanese Anuprāsa do not necessarily adhere to those of English alliteration, though they may be grouped together in a general way. In the above example, *dha* and *ka* furnish illustrations of Sanskrit Anuprāsa.

Kawi-writers of Java have also made an extensive use of this form of Alaṅkāra. Yogīśvara, the celebrated author of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, writes¹ :—

“Bika Śuci Suddha Saiva Sira Satvikasānta,” etc.

The above example, amongst others, tends to show the diffusion of knowledge of Sanskrit Rhetoric among some *Kawi*-writers. The above instance has been selected at random, so also the following from Mpu Dharmaja, who composed the beautiful Kakawin *Smaradahana* :—

“Akrāk tan katahen tangisnira tumon tunwan
smarāweh sekel”²

We quote a different example from Prapañca, who flourished towards the second half of the 14th century A.D. The perfect form of his Anuprāsa would make us believe that this Alaṅkāra had not fallen into desuetude during his time. He says :—

“Prapañca pracacah pañca, pracacad pocapan ceced
Prapöngpöng pipi pucche prem, pracongcong
cet pacehpaceh

Tan tatatīta tan tuten, tan tetes tan tut ing tutur
Titik tantrī tateng tatwa, tuhun tāmtām titir ttitih.”³

We do not know what the boastful Ghaṭakarpāra would have said if he had ever the opportunity of reading this particular strophe. The use of *s* in the first example, *t* in

1 Fifth Canto.

2 *Smaradahana*, ed. R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 3, 1931, p. 29, 13.

3 *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, Song no. 96, 1-2.

the second and the third (last two verses), and *p* in the last one (first couplet), has furnished good examples of the use of Anuprāsa in *Kāvī*-poesy. Without multiplying instances, we pass on to consider the use of 'Yamaka', which has been described by the writer of the Sanskrit *Kāvyaḍarśaḥ* in the following manner :—

“Avyapetavyapetātmā vyāvṛttivārṇasamhateḥ

Yamakaṃ tacca¹ pādānām ādi-madhyāntagocaram”²

When a collection of vowels and consonants repeats itself in the same order—the sense of the word-pair differing—the rhetorical form thus obtained may be styled 'Yamaka' *i.e.*, the twin. It may occur towards the beginning, middle or end of a verse or verses. The reader may remember in this connexion the famous example of the *Sāhityaḍarpaṇam* beginning with “*nava-palāśa-palāśavanam-puraḥ*”³ but, so far as form is concerned, this has been outshone, we think, by the following exquisite lines of Mpu Dharmaja, which have fulfilled some conditions of Daṇḍin in one single example :—

“rembang-rembang apantaran kalihiben
pāng pung pakis panggaga | rembat
nampu kajar-kajar kamumu len
sung-sung guyunyāngis | ngkāne dūnya
sawah kapanggih alangö lwah gung gung
akweh pakis | sarwecchābikuṭak taluktak
akiṭuk syok syok dhwaninyāngetek.”⁴

1 *Kāvyaḍarśaḥ*, 3/1

2 Read in this connexion, *Kāvyaḍarśaḥ*, 1/61.

3 Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition, p. 538.

4 *Smaradahana*, *op. cit.*, p. 28. We may also note in this connexion the effort of Indian and Javanese authors to begin a word with the last half of the previous word to enhance the melody of the verse. Cf., “Tama sansara ring *gatyā tyāga* ring rasa sanmata”

Nāgarakṛtāgama, 97/1

This may be compared with “Mṛgamada-saurabha-rabhasa-vasamvada-nava-dalamāla-tamāle” *Gītagovinda*, 1/3.

It is apparently one of the most perfect examples of Yamaka in all *Kawi*-literature. The pairs of 'rembang', 'kajar', 'sung', 'gung' and 'syok' occurring at different points of the above example, may remind one of the definition of Daṇḍin though this is not a clear case of Sanskrit Yamaka. The earlier portion of the second verse may also be considered as an example of Sanskrit Anuprāsa. A variety of Yamaka known to critics is Saṇḍaṣṭa Yamaka, which begins every foot with the last words of the previous foot. A beautiful example of it has been furnished by the celebrated Sanskrit author Daṇḍin, and it runs as follows :—

“Upodha-rāgāpyavalā madena sā
Madenasā manyurasena yojitā
Na yojitātmānam Anaṅga-tāpitām
Gatāpi tāpāya mamāsa neyate.”

In the foregoing example, 'madenasā' 'na yojitā,' and 'gatāpi tā' in the second, third and the last feet have respectively been taken from the closing portion of the previous relevant foot. It is a pleasant surprise to us to learn that even this variety of the Yamaka was known to Yogīśvara, the writer of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, who has offered us the following example. And, the sample furnished by Jogīśvara is, we believe, more perfect than the one we have quoted before. It runs thus :—

“Sakweh nikang talaga tan hana tanpa tuñjung ;
Tuñjung nya tan hana kurang paḍa mesi kumbang ;
Kumbang nya kapwa muni tan hana tanpa sabda ;
Sabda nya karṇasuk tan han tan manojña.”¹

It may be quite interesting to note that even such technical forms of Sanskrit Alaṅkāra as 'Apahnuti' was used with success by Old-Javanese writers. While defining the

1 Vide O. L. Z., 29, 1926., p. 935; we searched in vain for a similar example in the *Arjunavivāha*.

characteristics of this form, the *Sūhityadarpaṇam*¹ of Viśva-nātha Kavirāja lays down the following rule :—

“Gopanīyaṃ kamapyarthaṃ dyotayitvā kathaṃcāna
Yadi śleṣeṇānyathā vā'nyathayet sāpy Apahnutiḥ”

If having given expression to some secret object, one construes his meaning differently, either by paronomasia or otherwise, it is to be known as Apahnuti or concealment.

An interesting example has been given in the *Sūhityadarpaṇam* :²—

“Kāle vāridhārāṇām apatitayā naiva śakyate sthātum
Utkaṇṭhitāsi tarale ! na hi na hi Sakhi ! picchilaḥ
panthāḥ”

It may be translated thus : In the season of clouds, it is impossible to remain without a husband (or without falling, both of which may be translated by *apatitayā*). ‘Art thou agitated, fickle girl?’ ‘No, no, dear friend, the way is slippery’.

Here *apatitayā* has been construed differently to suit different occasions. Such form enhances grace and brings in a mixed touch of humour and romanticism. From the same work of Yogīśvara from which we have quoted so often, we illustrate an example of Sanskrit Apahnuti in its *Kawi-garb*.

“Śabda ning bhramara matta ya apuya
Yak rengö ya mahuyang hati mapanas
Tulya parwwata se deng matunu murub.”³

Thus far we are absolutely sure of the influence of Sanskrit Alaṅkāra on the forms of *Kawi*-poesy. It would not be proper perhaps to lay much stress on *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā*, *Atiśayokti*, etc. Because, there is a peculiar ten-

1 Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 589.

3 *Vide* O. L. Z., 29, 1926, p. 937.

dency in human mind to draw analogy from objects of similar nature to enhance the suggestiveness of ideas. When Shelley, for example, wrote the exquisite verse, "Make me thy lyre even as the forest is" ('Ode to the West Wind'), we are to think that the comparison was born in the poet's imagination. Javanese authors have sometimes compared bamboo-trees with flutes ; because, when wild wind passes through the bamboo-trees, they seem to produce the melody of flutes or lyres. Kālidāsa,¹ similarly, writes :—

Yañ pūrayan kīcakarandhrabhāgān,
 Darīmukhotthena samīraṇena |
 Udgāsyatāmicchati kinnarāṇām
 Tānapradāyitvamivopagantum" ||

(Gusts of winds coming out of mountain-caves are producing murmuring melodies in the holes of bamboo-reeds, and, it appears therefrom that the Himalayas are timing with the tunes of the 'full throated' *kinnarīs*).

In some of the most beautiful poems of Rabīndranāth Tagore, the idea has found an exquisite expression. Compare, for example,

“Āji roder prakhar tāpe,
 Bāñdher jale ālo kānpe,
 Vātās vāje marmariyā,
 Sārivādhā tāler vane”

This may be rendered in the following manner :—

‘The mid-day heat is keen,
 The light shimmers on the lake,
 And the wind spreads murmur
 Along the row of tāl’.

The central idea of it, however, has found an equally fine expression in the following verses of the ‘varṣāmaṅgala’ :—

1 Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhavam* 1/8; cf. also, *Bhāratayuddha*, 50/5; *Vṛttasañcaya*, 93.

“Duliche pavane śan śan vanavīthikā
Gītamay taru-latikā”

i. e. ‘The forest sways in the wind,
And trees flutter in leafy music’.

Now, all these poets of East and West have given expression to the same idea by drawing a comparison between ‘tree’ and ‘lyre’. It will not serve the purpose of higher criticism if we precipitately enunciate that one has borrowed from the other. Judging the question from this point of view, we shall not perhaps obtain much valuable result from our attempt to discover parallel Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, etc., from Indo-Japanese literature. Still a presumption is raised that, as *Kawī*-writers have enormously borrowed from Sanskrit literature, they might as well have obtained these forms of Alaṅkāra from the same Indian source. With these words in our mind, let us now study this particular branch of Indo-Japanese Rhetoric.

Let us begin with some examples of Simile and Metaphor. Mpu Sedah, the celebrated writer of the *Bhāratayuddha*, who composed it in 1157 A. D., writes :

“*Uruk warnani wandirania kadi soka makemoli
ping'gal ling pria.*”¹

[“Sad looked her fig-tree, like unto a sorrowful wife separated from her husband”].

The above specimen will certainly remind us of a host of parallels in Sanskrit literature. Kālidāsa, for example, while describing the Winter-season in his *Ṛtusamhāraṇi*, offers us the following parallel :—

“Then the Priyaṅgu creeper, reaching maturity,
.....
Grows paler, O Beloved,
Like a lonely maiden from her lover parted.”

The central idea of these two passages also occurs in

¹ *Bhāratayuddha*, Strophe no. 9.

the *Raghuvamśam*¹, *Ratnāvalī*,² *Meghadūtam*,³ and some other works of ancient India. Indian and Javanese authors have not stopped here. They seem to have a special fascination for the lovely eye-brows of maidens, which they have frequently described as a bow. Mpu Yogīśvara, for example, wrote :—

“Your fine eye-brows are your bow,
Your eye-lashes are the feathers of arrows.”⁴

Kālidāsa, who is credited with the authorship of the *Śṛṅgāratilakam*, writes in the same strain :

“Her brow is like the bow he bends,
The side-long glances are his darts.”⁵

Similarly, dew-drops have been compared to the flow of tears in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁶ of Yogīśvara, and this may remind us of “Niśātuṣārair nayanāmbukalpaiḥ—” in the *Bhaṭṭikāvyaṃ*. The former work⁷ also describes that the king is *Kalpavṛkṣa* (=wishing-tree), which has again been repeated in the *Tantu Panggelaran*⁸ with respect to the mother of Kumāra. In addition to these, many examples may be cited from *Kawī* and Sanskrit literature to illustrate how women of good grace have been compared to lotuses, their eyes have been likened to those of the deer, their faces have reminded the poets of the grace of the Moon, their arms have been likened to twining creepers,

1 *Raghuvamśam*, under 14/1.

2 *Ratnāvalī*, 2/3.

3 *Meghadūtam*, uttarameghaḥ, 22.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 12/38.

5 *Śṛṅgāratilakam*, 14; cf. also *Kumārasambhavam*, 1/47; *Gītāgovindam*, 3/3

6 Canto 8/96.

7 Cf. 6/148.

8 Cf. “*wruk sira sang Kumāra, tinut nira Bhaṭāri matmahan ta sira Kalpataru—*” i.e., Kumāra liked it and followed the lady, she was *Kalpataru* or *wishing-tree*.—Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, pp. 72, 143.

and so on. A very interesting example of 'Saṃśayopamā' occurs in the celebrated *Bhāratayuddha* :—

“Endah lwir mahurup langö gagana len bhūmī,
 Sedeng ning kulem
 Kaywan yāngdadi megha megha matemah kaywan
 Hidep ning mangö
 Wintang kembang kembang angjrah atemah wintang
 Haneng ambara
 Lwahnyādadyan urut mahā ng urut adadyan
 Lwah larinyālaris—”

“Wonderful! How the beauty of the heaven and the earth reflects one on the other by night! The woods (reflect) on the clouds, the clouds on the woods—so appear they to the poet. Can it be, that the stars are flowers? The flowers scatter themselves and transform into the stars of the heavens. The rivers pass into the clouds, clouds hurry to the streams”, etc.¹

It is, no doubt, one of the most beautiful examples of 'Saṃśayopamā' in all *Kawi*-literature.

✓We shall now turn from this field of Rhetoric to the broader sphere of ideas and description, where we shall again notice striking similarity. Take, for example, the following instance in *Indravanśa Chandaḥ* :

“Sāmar divā-ratrinikāṅ surālaya
 Dening prakāśātmaka sarva bhāsvara
 Anghing Sekarning Kumudājaring Kulem
 Mwang chakrawākān papasah lawan priya”.

“In the heavens, night could not be distinguished from the days on account of the glittering objects, which scattered light. Only the night-lotuses indicated that it was

1 Based on the German translation of Aichele; vide, O. L. Z., 29, 1926, p. 938.

Kawi-writers have presented women with collyrium in their eyes, body adorned with flowers, faces with perfumes and with the middle part of the body very lean. Such lovely women are also noticed in a large number of Sanskrit works including *Meghadūtam*,¹ *Raghuvaṃśam*,² *Mālavikāgnimitram*,³ *Kumārasambhavam*,⁴ *Ratnāvalī*,⁵ *Gītagovindam*⁶ and a host of other works.

We thus come to the end of our discussion on the Rhetoric and Prosody of Ancient Java. It will appear from what we have said above that the *Kawi*-writers were equally proficient in both these forms of literary grace or outward embellishments. There is no proof, however, that they had ever penetrated into the depth of Sanskrit poetics and delighted in literary criticism and aesthetic appreciation of *dhvani*, *rasa*, the processes for the realisation of that *rasa*, and so on. They have not discussed *doṣa*, *guṇa* and styles of literary forms, which are the aims of higher criticism in literature. What is the reason for that? Are the books lost, or were the poets merely satisfied with the superficial forms of Sanskrit literature, thus neglecting one of its most interesting aspects? They were, no doubt, imbued with the culture of classical India; but where is the spirit that enables one to probe into the nature of the thing? We confess, the materials extant in Java on this point are too insufficient to enable us to form our judgment.

With this review, we now pass on to consider: *Usada and Wariga*, i.e., the Medical and the Astrological literature of Java and Bali, which are no less interesting than Grammar, Lexicography, Rhetoric and Prosody.

1 *Pūrvameghaḥ*, 27; *Uttarameghaḥ*, 2, 11.

2 16/48; 13/49; 9/28; 16/59; 7/27, etc.

3 Under 3/125.

4 7/20; 7/59.

5 Under 1/11.

6 3/5.

(B) *Usada and Wariga*

The *Usada* or Medical Science was developed to counteract diseases that came, according to Greek Mythology, from Pandora's box. The Indians and the Indonesians, of course, did not possess that wonderful box, but they had their diseases, and so the Medical Science had to be developed. The earliest reference to it in Indian literature is to be met with in the *R̥gveda*,¹ where a verse depicts Rudra as a good physician: '*Bhiṣaktamaṃ tvā bhiṣajāṃ śṛṇomi*,' i.e., 'I hear thou art the best of physicians.' In Caraka and Suśruta, two early works on Indian Medicine, Brahmā has been described as the propounder of the Medical Science. Indeed, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*² clearly states, "First of all, Brahmā narrated this Veda; Dakṣa learnt it from him. The Aśvin twins, who taught Indra, derived the Science from Dakṣa. I myself have learnt it from Indra." It was such an old science at the time of Caraka (c. 200 A.D.) and Suśruta (c. 400 A.D.) that these writers sought to trace the Science to the gods themselves, nay even venerated it as a Veda. It is regrettable, however, that we do not know who is the promulgator of the Indonesian Medical Science; because, being fragmentary in its character, it has left behind no trustworthy evidence on this point. One peculiarity of early Indian treatises on Medicine is that they do not open with any invocation to any deity—a custom invariable in extant Javanese and later Indian compilations on the subject. Though the Javanese codices do not betray close relationship with early Indian medical works, they have some points of agreement with the early Babylonian, Syriac and late Hebrew medical texts, which "frequently mention the drugs, but their employment is entirely subservient to the word of power and the

knowledge of a personal 'devil'.¹ Prayers are sometimes enjoined by Hindu writers, but charms and incantations do not occur. Common peoples and quack-doctors, however, have systematically employed charms for curing different kinds of diseases not only in India, but also in Java and Bali. These practices, though absent in early Hindu treatises on Medicine, are not altogether absent in Old-Javanese works on the subject. This process of curing various diseases may be elaborated in the following manner. First of all, the so-called doctors utter some charms of unintelligible or half-intelligible meaning over some medicine (!) which has been prepared before, and invoke deities to lend additional force to their sedatives, sometimes threatening the deities if the disease is not cured. When the medicine has thus been prepared, it is swallowed or otherwise used by the patient. It will thus appear that, while the Javanese treatises do not betray scientific thoroughness like their Indian counterparts, they have some points of agreement with the ill-advised processes of Indian quack-doctors. As geographical distance leaves out the question of West-Asiatic influence on Old-Javanese medical science, we are confronted with the question: Was the science (!) then derived from the pernicious practice of local Indian colonists, who might be suspected of importing it from India to Java? The Science of Healing, in all ancient countries, began with indigenous attempt, however crude or unscientific that might be. And, therefore, it would be too hazardous for us to assume that the Old-Javanese medical science was the gift of the superstitious colonists of India, though it is quite possible that the native practices were considerably modified and influenced by the immigrants from India. Our remarks, we believe, will be amply borne out by the internal evidence.

1 *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, *The Assyrian Empire*, p. 240.

There is a complete work on *Usada* in the British Museum.¹ In this book, mixtures and some other medicines (to be applied externally) have been prescribed for use; it also mentions some substances which have to be chewed and digested internally. It contains mantras or charms, called *Memantranins*, which have been written in *Kawi* or Old-Javanese, though the import of them—as is quite natural—cannot be comprehended by modern therapeutics. The process is that after the mentioning of sickness, a charm, beginning with the Indian formula *Oṃ* is read over the mixtures of Gamugan, Kencur, Pala, Jahe, Musi, Ketan and Gajih, and the mixtures are then swallowed. It is strikingly similar to the process of the superstitious Indian quack-doctors employed for their still more superstitious patients.

Some of these *Usada* treatises open with invocation to various deities. *Cod.* 4620, for example, begins with :—

'*Oṃ Śivaḥ bhatūrah, pṛman Śivaḥ, Nirbaḥśivaḥ, Āditya-Śivaḥ*'.² *Cod.* 4619 begins with '*Om avighnam asta (°tu) namas svāhū*'.³ Similar⁴ is the beginning of *Cod.* 4618. Interesting, however, is *Cod.* 3942, which gives, on p. 6. the names of the Dhyānibuddhas, viz., Amoghasiddha (i.e., Amoghasiddhi) and Sryamitābha (i.e., Amitābha).

Some Javanese Medical codices also betray the influence of Islam. For example, in *Cod.* 3942, mentioned above, we come across the name of Suleman and find some Islamic formulas. Similarly, *Cod.* 3943 (1) not only mentions the name of Jinn (i.e., Jīna), but also of Rasul Allah.⁵ Nabi Mahammad is again referred to in *Cod.* 879, which ends with '*Sang Hyang Wongkara (aṃṃ), nga, ong, tlas*'.⁶ Some Sanskrit ślokas occur in *Cod.* 3943 (1), while *Cod.* 4618 opens

1 *Hydragen* T.L. VK., 1883, p. 151.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jar. en Med. Hss.*, dl II, p. 250ff.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

with an invocation to Śivaliṅga. We see, therefore, that these medical treatises of Java and Bali are hybrid compounds of Hinduistic-Buddhistic-cum-Islamic elements and were probably written shortly before and after the fall of Majapahit, *i.e.*, during the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries of the Christian era.¹

We now propose to study the *Wariga*, which we use here in a broader sense to include Astronomy and Astrology. The importance of this subject was well-recognised in ancient Java, and the ethical book *Raja Kapa Kapa* says: "It is incumbent upon every man of condition to know to count years, months, days, and comprehend the Sangkāla (*i.e.* *Candrasaṅkala*) and the *Kawi*-language." It may, therefore, be of some interest to know the traditional history of the origin of *Wariga* in Java and Bali, and what it contains.

There is an Indo-Polynesian work in Bali called *Wariga*, but its language, according to Van Eck,² is not wholly Balinese. According to the priests of Bulebug, the author of this *Wariga* was Sang Yang Licin.³ The kernel of the story is contained in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, and the history of the importation of this science has been traced to India. A summary of this tradition⁴ may be stated in the following manner:—

Metapa, the father of Bhagavān Semiti, as the story tells us, was once absorbed in deep meditation on a certain hill. On one occasion, Prabu Parikesit (*i.e.*, Prabhu Parī-

1 According to the 'New History of the T'ang dynasty' (618-906 A.D.), peoples of contemporary Java were acquainted with letters and Astronomy. But we have no positive data for holding that they had literature on them. *Vide* Groenveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 13.

2 *Bijdragen* T.L. VK., 1883, p. 154.

3 *Ibid.*, footnote.

4 Based on the Dutch translation of the original Balinese.

ksit) was chasing a deer, and he came to his cloister to ask him some questions. As the hermit was absorbed in deep meditation, he could not offer any answer to his queries, and the king, being angry, threw a snake about his neck and went off to the capital. The snake, who was no other than the *nāga* Takṣaka, thus roughly handled, resolved to teach the Prabu a good lesson, and immediately set forth on his trek. The Prabu, informed of the *nāga's* design, made elaborate preparations for the safety of his own person and interrogated the surrounding high-priests (*ida's gade*) about the probable time of the snake's arrival. The priests consulted their *Wariga* and referred to a particular moment when the snake might be expected to come ; but unfortunately the prediction failed. The thing was that the *nāga* Takṣaka had seen through their elaborate preparations and realised that his attempt would be frustrated if he went there in his own form. Not knowing what to do, the *nāga* went to the Saptā-pātāla to confer with Anantabhoga, the king of dragons. The latter concealed the *nāga* in a Jambu-fruit and, himself adopting the guise of a high-priest, proceeded forthwith to meet the Prabu. Seeing the unknown ascetic, the Prabu asked him who he was and what was his business. The ascetic said in reply that he was a Brāhmaṇa ; he had come down from the hills to pay his respects to His Majesty by offering fruit and blessings. The Prabu, finding a delightful fragrance, took the fruit to his mouth and was immediately bitten by Takṣaka and he succumbed consequently. Janamejaya, father of Parikesit (!), was very angry with the priests, as they could not predict rightly, and he ordered their worthless *Wariga* to be burnt by fire. It was immediately carried out, though a gust of wind carried off some pages of their *Wariga* to the island of Bali.

The last statement of the above story is important, as it furnishes a traditional evidence on the origin of the

Balinese *Wariga*. Let us now search the contents of this literature and see how far they are related to things Indian. Or, in other words, let us study the inter-relation of the Indo-Javanese Astrology. We shall begin with the time-reckoning of these islands.

Cod. 5053 is a *Wariga*-work, and it ends with 'Om Viṣṇu Kumāramūrti ya namaḥ svāhā,' etc., while *Cod.* 4656 begins with 'Iti Trilinga.'¹ A third *Wariga*, *Cod.* 4662, begins with 'Om avighnam astu Sintā.'² A list of 8 gods, viz. Śrī, Indra, Guru, Yama, Ludra (=Rudra), Brahma (=Brahmā) and Umā, has been given in *Cod.* 3981 (4), which is an Astrological work.³ So we see that different deities of different sects have been invoked by the writers of these treatises, and these, therefore, do not appear to be the exclusive compositions of any particular sect. It is noteworthy that we can not trace any Muslim influence on the codices at our disposal. We hold, therefore, tentatively, that these compositions were made before the decline of Majapahit, i.e., before the fifteenth century of the Christian era.

As regards the system of year-computation, the *Bṛghu-garga* and the *Ajī Śaka* enunciate in no uncertain terms that the Śaka era was introduced from India. About the actual date of the introduction of this era, we shall have to say something later on and, therefore, reserving that point for further consideration, we shall now deal with other aspects of the question. As is well-known, the year of the Balinese peoples is a lunar one of 360 days further divided into 12 unequal portions called *māsa* or month. The first month is of 41 days, the second of 23 days, the third of 24 days, the fourth of 24 days, the fifth of 26

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl II, p. 225.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

days, the sixth of 41 days, the seventh of 41 days, the eighth of 26 days, the ninth of 25 days, the tenth of 25 days, the eleventh of 23 days, and the twelfth of 41 days.¹ These 360 days of the lunar year are adjusted by the Brāhmaṇas to the solar one. As regards the division of the month, Dr. Friederich says,² that the combination of the Polynesian week of 5 days (Pahing, Puan, Wage, Kaliwon and Manis) with the Indian week of 7 days, *viz.*, Rediti (*i. e.*, Aditi), Soma, Anggara (*i. e.*, Maṅgala), Budda (*i. e.*, Budha), Bṛhaspati, Sukra (*i. e.*, Śukra) and Sanescara (*i. e.*, Śanaīscara)—is really the foundation of time-reckoning in Bali. These dates are frequently mentioned in *Kawi*-inscriptions. Raffles says further,³ "The weeks of 7 days considered with reference to the seasons, are termed *wuku*. Thirty of these are said to have been established in commemoration of the victory obtained over *Wātu Gunung*. These thirty, again, have six principal divisions, each consisting of 35 days and commencing on the day in which Budda kaliwon and Galungan fall together."

Pañcavāra and saptavāra are frequently referred to in some of the extant *Wariga* works, though they are by no means absent in inscriptions and other literary compositions. *Cod.* 3981 (4), for example, refers to both of them⁴, while *Cods.* 4660 and 4983 mention only the saptavāra⁵. *Cod.* 4660, mentioned before, informs us further that over each of these seven days, there is a presiding deity. For example, on the first day a god is the president; a human figure, which represents mankind, is the president of the second day; an inanimate object, the tree, is the presiding officer of the third day; the fourth day is presided over

1 Crawford, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XIII, p. 148.

2 Voorloopig Verslag van het eiland Bali, p. 51; Cf. also the list in the *Tāntu Pañggelaran*, pp. 148-150, ed. Pigeaud.

3 *History of Java*, Vol. I, 1830, p. 531ff.

4 Juynboll, *Sppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, pp. 289-290.

5 Juynboll, *Sppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, pp. 229, 237.

by a bird. The fifth and the sixth days are respectively presided over by *buta* (=spirit) and *sattva* (beast). The name of the seventh presiding deity has not been given in the code. Six-day weeks have also been mentioned in *Kawi*-inscriptions. The works *Sundari terus* and *Sundari bungkah* also belong to *Wariga*-literature.

In time-calculation, *Candrasaṅkala* was the most favourite mode of expression, and we have already referred to a passage in the *Raja Kapa Kapa*, which makes the study of it an essential part of education. *Cod.* 3981 (3), for example, offers an elaborate description of this class of signs used with reference to numerals of years. The code¹ presents them in the following manner :—

Candra, Śaṣi (=Śaṣi), Janma (=Moon, man)	for	1
Netra, Cakṣu, Nayana	... ..	2
Vahni, Pāvaka, etc.	... ..	3
Weḍang, Sāgara, etc.	... ..	4
Bhūta, Pāṇḍava, Talaga (=Taḍāga), etc.	... ..	5
Rasa, Ṣaḍrasa, etc.	... ..	6

That this *canḍrasaṅkala* was the general mode of expressing the number of years—and not an exceptional rule—may be understood by studying a *Kawi*-work of any reputation. We quote an extract from a *Wawatekan* with two objects in view, *viz.*, that it offers some examples of the above proposition and also familiarises us with the names of some *Kawi*-works and their authors, whom we shall discuss in a later chapter. It says² :—

- (a) *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed by Mpu Yogisvara in
"Śaṣti jana śuddha manah", *i. e.*, 1016 ś.E.
- (b) *Bhomakāvya* by Mpu Bradah in
"Sangang awak kilangö murti", *i. e.*, 1019 ś.E.
- (c) *Sumanasāntaka* by Mpu Monaguna in
"Śuddha wretta wara hira", *i. e.*, 1020 ś.E.
- (d) *Smaradahana* by Mpu Dharmaja in
"Janāngrengö windu wacana", *i. e.*, 1021 ś.E.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, *Cod.* 4672.

- (e) *Arjunavivāha* by Mpu kanva in
"Nayakāngrengö windu wong," *i. e.*, 1022 Ś.E.
- (f) *Arjunaviṣaya* by Mpu Tantular in
"Hato tuna gura wāk," *i. e.*, 1031 Ś.E.
- (g) *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Mpu Triguna in
"Wak warna nānira," *i. e.*, 1041 Ś.E.
- (h) *Lubdhaka* by Mpu Tanakung in
"Nora prapañca peteng hati," *i. e.*, 1050 Ś.E.
- (i) *Ghatotkacāśraya* by Mpu Panuluh in
"Iku tuna rasa wāk," *i. e.*, 1061 Ś.E.
- (j) *Pārthayajña* by Mpu Vidyātmaka in
"Henu wiku ngambare lemah," *i. e.*, 1075 Ś.E.
- (k) *Bhūratayuddha* by¹ in
"Sanga kuda suddha candrama" *i. e.*, 1079 Ś.E.
- (l) *Usana Bali* by Nirartha in
"Bwat bali vaṃśa prabhu," *i. e.*, 1141 Ś.E.

The dates furnished by our *Wawatekan* codifier are wrong in many cases and, therefore, they should not be accepted, as they stand, without any other trustworthy evidence. We merely draw the attention of our readers to the mode of expression, the historicity of these accounts being reserved for separate treatment in subsequent chapters. We do not think it necessary to quote any expressions from the *Kawi*-works themselves, because they are legion.

The people of Java and Bali, like those of Campā², believed in the *yugas*. In the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, as we have seen, all the four *yugas* have been mentioned by name. Many *Kawi*-works have specifically mentioned them, while a lurid description of 'Kali' is given in the Old-Javanese *Mausalaparva*³. Kaliyuga has been mentioned in

1 It should be Mpu Sedah.

2 R. C. Majumdār, *Champā*, pp. 206-207.

3 Juynboll, *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata*, etc., *Mausalaparva*, pp. 128-131.

the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva*¹; *Traitā* also occurs in the same work² as well as in the Old-Javanese prose-work called *Caṇṭakaparva*.³ The *Uttarakāṇḍa*, also a prose-work, refers to the *Traitāyuga*. The *Dvāpara-yuga* has been mentioned in the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva*⁴, as well as in the *Sumanasāntaka*⁵. One division of time, known as 'Kalpa' in Indian literature, has been referred to in the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva*⁶. These examples have been collected at random and their number can extensively be multiplied. It is, therefore, fairly certain that the division of time according to Yuga and Kalpa was well-known in the islands of Java and Bali. *Kawi*-records of Java also frequently refer to the various divisions of the year and the month. The Indian *tithis* like 'ekādaśī', 'dvādaśī', 'trayodaśī', 'pūrṇimā', 'amāvasyā' also crop up abundantly in old inscriptions of Java. It would appear from the above review that the various systems of time-reckoning in India got a wide currency in the islands of Java and Bali.

We now pass on to the subject of Astrology. Some of the codices extant in Java and Bali describe the auspicious and inauspicious hours of the day and night by the position of the stars or the zodiac signs. The first part of *Cod.* 5233, for example, knows the *muhūrtalakṣaṇa*, the second part knows the *muhūrtalakṣaṇa-vidhīśāstra*, while the third one describes the *Śubhācāra-divasa-vidyā-śāstra*⁷. The peoples of these islands also believe that there are five *kṣaṇas* in a day, viz., *Amṛta*, *Śūnya*, *Kāla*, *Pati* and *Linyoka*. If any one is born in the *Amṛta-kṣaṇa*, he becomes fortunate. Similarly, one born in the *Śūnya-kṣaṇa* becomes poor; born in *Kāla*, one becomes slave to his passions. Similarly, one born in *Pati* dies, while debauchery overtakes the one-

1 *Ādiparva*, 3.

2 *Ādiparva*, 2.

3 *Caṇṭakaparva*, 206.

4 *Ādiparva*, 3.

5 *Sumanasāntaka*, 1/4.

6 *Ādiparva*, 36.

7 Juynboll, *Sppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II.

born in the Linyoka-kṣaṇa. In the Cheribon Manuscript¹, the name of the signs of the Zodiac, *viz.*, Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkaṭa, Siṃha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanuḥ, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna—have been slightly corrupted. It is interesting to note in this connexion that the Old-Javanese Anggastyaparva² also gives some information on Astrology. It has been stated there that the twenty-seven anakṣatras (*i.e.*, nakṣatras=stars) are the daughters of Dakṣa and Asiktiki, and from them originated Kṛttikā, Pūrṇavasū, Viśakā, Mūlā, Maghā, etc. The Milk-way and other heavenly bodies have also been mentioned in this connexion. We are to note here only the name and number of the stars. With this, we bring our study of the *Wariga* literature to a close. It may incidentally be mentioned that the Balinese *Wariga* literature also knows one Garga, who has been described as a great astronomer. India also recognises him as the son of Vitatha, and he enjoyed great popularity as an authoritative exponent of the Astronomical Science. He is thus a connecting link between the Astrological Science of India and Indonesia, and is an additional evidence of the fact that the *Wariga* literature of Java and Bali has been derived from Indian sources, which, as we have seen before, has been suggested by the *Mahābhārata* story and internal evidence of literature bearing on the subject.

C. Cosmogony or Mythology and Mythical Chronology

Dr. Kern remarks quite appropriately that the stories of creation belong to the literature of the oldest *genre*. The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Bhuvanakoṣa*, *Bhuvanasaṃkṣepa*, *Tantu Panggelaran*, *Manik Maya* and the *Tattva Sawang Suwung* offer a graphic description of the creation-story. The *Caturpakṣopadeśa* and the *Ādipurāṇa* also offer valuable data for

1 Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. I, p. 534.

2 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, pp. 319-320.

mythological and ecclesiastical studies. In the present section, we shall give a somewhat detailed account of the *Tantu Panggelaran*, *Manik Maya*, *Tattva Sawang Suwung* and the *Ādipurāṇa*. We shall begin with the most important of these works, *viz.*, the *Tantu Panggelaran*, which is a veritable repository of cosmogony, mythology and church-history. It has no central plot like that of the *Kuñjarakarna*, nor does it, like the latter one, expound ethics of a particular church. It has to be noted again that this work primarily deals with ecclesiastical affairs; mythological and cosmogonical portions have absorbed a minor part of the work. The book contains seven chapters in all, and they may be summarised¹ in the following manner:—

The first chapter opens with the creation-story. It states that in the good old days, there were neither men nor Mahāmeru in Java. Jagatpramāṇa sent Brahmā and Viṣṇu for creating men, who were made in the image of God. Men began to multiply rapidly, but they had neither house to live in, nor dress to put on. So, Mahā-kāraṇa sent Brahmā, Viśvakarmā, Īśvara, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva, Ciptagupta (apparently a corruption of Citragupta), and Ciptaṅgakāra (*i. e.* 'citrakāra' or artists) to procure amenities of life to the peoples of Java. Thus, houses sprang up in many places and ultimately the kingdom of Meḍang-kamulan was founded. Īśvara became instructor in words, daśaśīla and pañcaśikhā and received the title of Gurudeśa. The kingdom known as Meḍanggaṇa was founded by Viṣṇu and Śrī, of whom the former assumed the title of Kaṇḍyawan, and begot five sons through his wife Śrī. Of these five sons, Vṛtti Kaṇḍyawan was consecrated to the throne.

The next scene (second chapter) opens with the story of gods, who came to pay homage to Guru. The latter

1 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, pp. 129-195. This portion contains the Dutch translation of the original text.

ordered the gods to replace the Mahāmeru in Java, and they began to bring down to the island the Mount Mandara, peak of the Mahāmeru, which was one hundred thousand yojanas in height. The author of this book observes that henceforward Mahāmeru shrank to half of its original height. While trying to replace the Mount in Java, the gods assumed various forms. Viṣṇu, for example, coiled round the Mount as a snake, while Brahmā became the king of tortoises. Vāyu placed himself on the back of the tortoise. In this way, the huge mass of the Mount was dragged to the island. The whole world screamed at this supreme effort of the gods. Now, being spent up with thirst, the gods drank off the *kālakūṭa* that came out of the Mount and were immediately killed. Parameśvara saw that and, himself drinking a quantity of it, became Nilakaṇṭha. He readily washed his throat with *tattvāmṛta* which, being given to the gods, enabled them to live over again. They resumed their effort and were helped by the Daityas, Dānavas and Rākṣasas. Thus the Mount was brought over and placed to the Western side of Java. Due to the heavy pressure of the Mount, West Java went down and East Java heaved upwards. So the Mount had to be transferred to East Java. Parameśvara being highly pleased allowed Īśvara to ride on, a white bull, Brahmā on a goose, and Viṣṇu on a Garuḍadhvaja. The gods, while they returned with all other valuable things, forgot to bring with them the *Kamaṇḍalu*, known as *Ketek Meleng*. It was taken possession of by two Rākṣasas, viz., Rātmaja and Rātmajī. Being informed of the true state of affairs by the Sun and the Moon, Brahmā and Viṣṇu went there. When all persuasions failed, Viṣṇu filched away the *Kamaṇḍalu* in the guise of a lovely girl. Now, the Rākṣasa Rāhu managed to drink some of its contents. Being informed by the Sun and the Moon, Viṣṇu cut off his head by wheeling his *cakra*. But the head of the Rākṣasa, now that it had tasted *Kamaṇḍalu*, became immortal and the devourer of the Sun and the Moon. After

drinking *Tattoāmṛta*-water, Śiva, Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu resorted to Yoga.

The third chapter opens with the story of Jagatpramāṇa and Umā, whose children, curiously enough, were Kāmadeva and Smarī. The penances of Guru and Parameśvarī, their amours and the birth of Gaṇa and Kumāra have next been described with some details. Kāmadeva, desirous of possessing Smarī, but fearing the wrath of Guru, divided the limbs of Smarī into two parts, of which one became Rati, the beloved spouse of Kāmadeva. Subsequently, however, Rati was born as Turuk Manis and Kāmadeva as Wengan, and both of them were united in wedlock. The author thus ingeniously avoids the patched-up fabrication of Kāmadeva and Smarī (Rati) as the children of Guru. The penances of Guru and Umā and the childhood of Gaṇa and Kumāra have been described with some detail. The penances of the two sons as also the intellectual duel between Gaṇa and Viṣṇu, and later, between Gaṇa and Brahmā, have also been related at some length.¹ The five gods, who were created by Guru to support his son in the intellectual duel, sought instructions from him and he, unwilling to impart the science in presence of Umā, sent her to bring milk from a black virgin cow. Umā travelled all the world over, but did not find the required cow, till she discovered one in the possession of a certain cowherd. As the latter would not give milk in lieu of gold even, Umā had to be unfaithful to her husband for procuring the milk. Three sons were born to her, of whom the youngest was Bhiku Boddha or Sogata (Bhikṣu Buddha or Saugata).

1 In this portion, the author describes the quarrel of the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Guru. Their rivalry has been described in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, the *Liṅga*,^o the *Śiva*^o and the *Kūrma*^o (Cf. T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 105ff, p. 296ff). Almost an exact echo of our text is found in Alberuni (Sachau, II, p. 147) and the *Kūrma*^o. Both describe, like our text, how one of the heads of Brahmā was cut off.

The fourth chapter opens with ecclesiastical history, which is continued through subsequent chapters. It is said that Parameśvara founded the *maṇḍalas* in Java. Guru is the first founder, and Sukayajña is the first *maṇḍala*. Many men are now desirous of entering the order of the Bhikṣus, and they were initiated properly by Guru. The first to be initiated was Brhaspati, the second Soma, the third Budha, the fourth Śukra, the fifth Raditya (= Āditya), the sixth Śanaīscara, and the seventh one was Anggara (= Maṅgala)! This, as our author tells us, was the number of disciples of Guru at the time of the Sukayajña. *Sukayajñapakṣamayana* is the name of the second *maṇḍala*. After the description of some other *maṇḍalas*, the author introduces us to the story of the Brāhmaṇa Teken-Wuwung, who, by the grace of Īśvara's initiation, became known as Mpu Siddhayoga. The latter wanted to marry, and his preceptor recommended to him Devī Kasingi, the eldest daughter of Wawu-langit, king of Meḍang-gana. Though the princess was blind, the blessings of the mighty Īśvara made her perfect of limb, and she now became known as Wiku Siddhayogi. The fourth chapter closes with the account of the arrival of Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who sought instructions from Guru.

The fifth chapter opens with the account of the Brāhmaṇa, Kacuṇḍa, who came to Java from the Mahāmeru to be initiated. There was also Agaṣṭi (= Agastya),¹ who, through *yoga*, became known as Dharmarāja, and later on as Ṛṣi Siddhavaṃsitadeva. The gods tried to kill him, but failed till Guru killed him and placed his body on the top of the Mahāmeru. Thenceforward, as the story says, the peak could not be crossed over by the Sun, Moon, clouds, etc. It is the place of the holy *liṅga*. The fifth chapter closes after mentioning the Ṛṣi Taruṇa-tapa-yovana.

The next chapter opens with a stormy scene. It describes how Umā roughly treated Kumārā and was conse-

1 Cf. Poerbatijaraka, *Agastya in den Archipel*, 1926, p. 32ff.

quently cursed by Guru to be a Rākṣasī, named Durgā.¹ In moroseness and anger, he now cursed himself and became a Rākṣasa with 3 eyes and 4 arms; henceforward he became known as Kālarudra, and began to destroy men and other animals. So Īśvara, Brahmā and Viṣṇu had to stop this ruthless destruction, and they descended on the earth. They played *Wayang* and travelled throughout the earth with a musical concert. After performing serious penances, Kālarudra again chose to be Guru; so also Umā, who was undergoing hard austerities in the netherworld. Kumāra now assumes his original form.

The seventh or the last chapter begins with the description of Guru, who assumed the form of a Bhiku (= Bhikṣu) of the Bhujaṅga-class of the Śaivite sect. After full 12 years were passed, Bhatati, king of Galuh, heard that the Bhiku was in Brahmā's heaven. So the king had to accept Mpu Janādhipa as Guru, and Mpu Narajñāna as purohita (*i.e.*, priest). Now the author describes how the body of Mpu Mahāpalyat was divided into two parts, and how a Śaiva and a Saugata, known as Mpu Barang and Mpu Waluhbang, originated from them. The eldest son of king Bhatati, Taki by name, then settled in Daha. The work further notices the arrival of king Cakravartī of Jambudvīpa, where Viṣṇu is honoured. Towards the close of the work, the author refers to the queen Aji Nini of Daha, the worthy Mārkaṇḍeya, Trṇavindu and Aṅgira.

These are, in short, the main contents of the *Tantu Panggelaran*, which, as it appears, has sought to offer explanation of various traditions and institutions of Java. The attempt to introduce Mahāmeru to Java represents the anxiety of the Javanese author to synthesise the Indian tradition to its Javanese environment. The legend of Agaṣṭi is also a reflex of a similar tradition current in India. It should be noted, however, that though

1 Cf. also *Sudamala*, which we have discussed in a later chapter..

the Javanese author has introduced some Indian gods, *maṇḍalas*, mountains, etc., to Java, he has not presented all of them in the light of Sanskrit Paurāṇic works. This will be readily understood if we remember how the relations of various gods have been stated. It is probable, therefore, that the *Tantu Panggelaran* is primarily based on various distorted traditions of India which floated in different centres of Indonesia, and partially also on native traditions. A mixture of these two elements has been responsible for its curious presentation. In many cases particular facts of episodes can be traced to Indian sources, but the whole episode, excepting some rare cases, does not tally with its counterpart even in bare outline. Thus, while the history of Mangukuhan is of pure native origin, the peculiar story of Durgā is wholly foreign to Sanskrit literature. A great part of the work describes *maṇḍalas*, Devagurus and various other religious orders. Men and women, it has been stated, receive initiation or *dikṣā* from Guru, who is described as the head of the *maṇḍala*. Devaguru and some of his disciples were the founders of some *maṇḍalas*. The society within the fold of the *maṇḍala*, as Pigeaud¹ points out, has not sufficiently been described to allow us to form a correct opinion. But, it has been suggested, a comparison with the āśramas, maṭhas, vihāras, and other cloisters of Northern countries may throw some light on this point. Though it has shown great honour to celibate Bhikṣus, marriages of them are also noted. The castes are nowhere mentioned in the *Tantu Panggelaran*. Dr. Pigeaud thinks² that the reference to the Brāhmaṇas occurs not as a caste-member but in the sense of an ecclesiastic. It betrays also some Tāntric influences. Guru, the religious preceptor, who does not instruct before women, is a constant figure in Indian Tāntric literature.

1 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, p. 28.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

The Bhikṣus of the Bhairava class, who practised *śmaśāna-gamana* and worshipped in cemeteries, doubtless belonged to the Tāntric group.

The name of the author is not known. As he has not mentioned Bali, Dr. Pigeaud¹ is disposed to accept him as native of Java, though, we think, this should be stated tentatively. As regards the date of its composition, we cannot state anything explicitly. The earliest MS. is dated in 1557 Śaka. Internal evidences serve no useful purpose; no light is thrown from Indian Paurāṇic literature. The author's knowledge of the extant kingdoms and evidence culled from the standpoint of society are not of much help. Dr. Kern thinks² that the language and style of the *Tantu* have great similarity with the Old-Javanese prose-translation of the Ādiparvan. If we brush off the crusts that have gathered round the language and carefully sift them, the original form, as Kern thinks, will make its appearance. According to Dr. Pigeaud,³ it has also some linguistic affinities with the *Kuñjarakarna*, which Kern himself admits to have been extant in the last half of the fourteenth century A.D. The additional arguments, which Pigeaud has brought to bear upon the question, are: (1) that the queen of Cempa, who has been mentioned here, was entombed, according to a later tradition, in 1448 A.D.,⁴ and (2) that she was already an incarnation of Devī Śrī and thus a legendary character to the writer of the *Tantu*. Of these, the former being a doubtful case, must remain open in the present state of our knowledge. The second one does not furnish a cogent

1 *Ibid.*, p. 53 ff.

2 *Bijdragen T.L. VK.*, 5th series II, 1887, p. 575; *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. IX, p. 287.

3 *De Tantu Panggelaran*, pp. 8, 9, 20, 47, 48.

4 Cf. Hosein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, p. 255.

argument, because, even now, we call a virtuous woman an incarnation of Lakṣmī or Śrī, while she is living. It will thus appear that the date of the *Tantu Panggelaran* is still a matter of conjecture. We are inclined to believe that the main story has to be referred to a period not sufficiently removed from the date of the Old-Javanese Ādi-parva, say, between 978 and 1050 A.D.; some newer materials were engrafted upon the original kernel during the fourteenth century A.D. or a little later. It has to be observed that it is only in the last portions of the work that we come across later accretions.

Whatever be the date of its origin, nobody will deny perhaps, that in the *Tantu Panggelaran* we generally move in an Indianised society. The meaning of the title of the book is 'World-theatre', and it may have some justification for that title.

The second work, viz., the *Manik Maya*, is doubtless later than the *Tantu Panggelaran*. It is written in the New-Javanese. The author has used the word "Allah," though, according to Winter, that is no proof of the later origin of the work.¹ He thinks further that it was composed at Kartasura by Karta Mosada, probably after a *Kawi-Jitapsara*. According to Prof. Veth, the work, as we have it, is to be dated in 1725 A.D.² The main story of the book may briefly be described³ in the following manner:—

Before the world and everything pertaining to it were created, there was Sang Hyang Viseṣa, who begged a boon of the Almighty. The latter was glad to suspend a ball over the head of Sang Hyang Viseṣa, who divided it into three parts. The first part became the heavens, earth, etc., the second part became the Sun, the Moon, etc., and the third part was the man or Manik Maya.

1 *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L. VK.*, V, I, p. 23.

2 Quoted by Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, p. 13ff.

3 J. Lipjes in *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L. VK.*, 1840, 3e jg., 1, 67; Winter, *Ibid.*, 1843, 5e jg., 1, 1; Raffles. *History of Java*, Vol. I, Appendix.

✂ Sang Hyang Viśeṣa gave charge of the entire earth to Manik Maya, conferring on him the title Sang Hyang Guru. The latter, being blessed by Sang Hyang Viśeṣa, begot 9 sons and 5 daughters, who, however, were not born in the mother's womb.¹ One of these children was Mahādeva, and his wife was Mahādevī. He was asked to preside over the Eastern region, while the Southern region was placed under the care of Sang Hyang Sambu (=Śambhu), who married Sangyana. The third son, Sang Hyang Kamajaya, was married to Devī Ratah (=Rati), and they presided over the Western quarter. The Northern region was placed in charge of Viṣṇu, who was united with Śrī in wedlock. Sang Hyang Bayu (=Vāyu), the fifth son, got married with Devī Sumi, and ruled over the central portions of the earth. The North-eastern region was controlled by the sixth son, Sang Hyang Prebañjala (=Prabhañjana?). The South-eastern and the South-western regions were lorded over respectively by Sang Hyang Kuvera and Sang Hyang Mahayakti. Sang Hyang Śewa (=Śiva) was the ruler of the North-western region.

Then Sang Hyang Guru went to the Nether world and placed 7 presiding deities over the 7 divisions. Returning from the Nether region, he discovered that the earth was inclined to the West. The deities said that it was due to the presence of a hill in the west, which he ordered to be replaced in the East to maintain the balance of the world. The second chapter describes the creation of Sang Hyang Dharma Jaka, who begot a son named Catur Kanaka. From the latter was born the celebrated Sang Hyang Kanakaputra, who went to do penances in the ocean.

The third section of the book opens with the description of the gods, who were despatched to uproot the hill and place it in the East. It is said that the gods were

1 Cf. a parallel story in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, 4/2.

spent up with thirst and hunger and unknowingly drank off some poisoned water and died ultimately. Sang Hyang Guru also drank it, but finding it poisonous, vomited out what he had drunk. The effect of it, however, remained in his throat, which became Nila, *i.e.*, blue. So he became known as Nilakaṇṭha. The poison described as *Cālakuṭa* is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kālakuṭa*. He also discovered fine water called *Kamandalu* (!), which had the property of bringing the dead to life. Sang Hyang Guru drank it and gave some portion to the dead gods, who lived over again. It also describes how the perspiration coming out of the body of the over-exhausted gods created many rivers in Kedu. The book further refers to god Ramādī, who was the father of Brāhma Kadālī, and describes the story of the creation of 1,00,001 Vidyādhari, of whom Bhatāri Ratih was one. Sang Hyang Guru, however, married Bhatāri Umā.

When all these were done, the Devatās and the Vidyādhari began to drink off the *Terta Kamandalu*. It was noticed by Rembu Culung, who here performs the function of Rātmaji and Rātmaja of the *Tantu*. Candra drew the attention of Viṣṇu and, before the Rākṣasa Rembu could drink anything, he discharged an arrow into his throat and the water could not get into his stomach. So the head of the Rākṣasa was immortalised and it became the devourer of the Sun and the Moon. Then follows a preposterous description of Sang Hyang Kala, whose eyes have been described to be as powerful as the Sun and the Moon. The story now proceeds on rather irregularly and it describes how Sang Hyang Guru seized his own wife by the toe and how she immediately was transformed into a huge monster, *i.e.*, Durgā. She was now given over to Sang Hyang Kāla. Sang Hyang Guru then ordered the deities, *viz.* Brahmā and Viṣṇu, to kill the 40 children of Rembu Culung except the one who was making penances and who had in his possession a precious jewel that warded off

hunger and thirst. Sang Hyang Guru wanted that jewel from Sang Hyang Kanakaputra ; but it began to pass from hand to hand till it was ultimately devoured by Antaboga, king of Dragons.¹ Kanakaputra went in search of it and came back with it to Sang Hyang Guru. But none of them could open the casket in which it was put. Sang Hyang Guru flung it down, it broke into pieces and immediately came out a beautiful damsel, whom he would marry. She consented on condition that Sang Hyang Guru would give her 3 things, *viz.*, a gorgeous dress that did not tarnish, meals that barred all hunger and thirst and the sweetest musical instrument. So he had to send messengers all over the earth and one of them—Kāla Gamārang—seeing the naked beauty of the bathing Śrī,² was overwhelmed with the desire to possess her. She was no other than the wife of Viṣṇu and, to foil him, both Viṣṇu and Śrī entered into the body of Derma Nastiti and his wife, who have been described as the first king and queen of Java. By the curses of Śrī, Kāla Gamārang was transformed into a hog and was ultimately killed by a black dog and a white cat. The relatives of this hog came to avenge the death of Kāla Gamārang, but they were struck with awe when they found Viṣṇu in the person of the king. They begged pardon of him and it was given. The last part of the story describes that on one occasion while he was travelling in the rice-fields, the king saw a very beautiful virgin, whom he wanted to marry. She was Lueh Endah and she gave him her consent provided he came into the field every morning and evening. Saying this, she vanished. The king was overwhelmed with her loss ; but the country grew rich and luxurious.

1 It reminds us of the story of the 'Syamantakopākhyānam' in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*.

2 The touch is Indo-Polynesian.

Like the *Tantu Panggelaran*, the *Manik Maya* also does not furnish us sufficient data for the discovery of its original sources. Indian Paurāṇic literature cannot be regarded as the ground-plot of this work ; because a curious commingling in the names of Sang Hyang Guru's children, some of whom are identical in Indian literature, and much original accretions to the main plot, bar out that possibility. Some names are doubtless of Javanese origin. The names of Kāla Gamārang, Rembu Culung, etc., may be cited by way of illustration. It is probable that, like the *Tantu Panggelaran*, it was also based on various mythological traditions, which, mixed up with native accretions, assumed a curious shape. We discover, however, some traces of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* in the opening section of the *Manik Maya*, where the whole world has been described as originating from a ball or *aṇḍa*. The story of how Śiva became Nīlakaṇṭha is graphically depicted in the Ādiparva, Sanskrit as well as Javanese, and also in some other works. The transference of the Mahāmeru from India to Java is contained in the *Tantu Panggelaran*, which is an earlier work. This episode is not known to any Paurāṇic work of India. So the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and the Ādiparva may be regarded as the ultimate source of some portions of the *Manik Maya*, while the rest might have been derived from various traditions.

The story has been loosely knit together. It does not satisfy our curiosity about the girl of the casket, who had captivated Sang Hyang Guru. We are also quite in the dark as regards the motive of the writer in introducing another damsel towards the closing portion of the story. Is she like Urvaśī of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśī*, who had transformed herself into the charms of Nature and the magnificent landscapes ? Another thing that draws our attention is the laxity of moral ideas, which is on a par with, if not worse than, some of our Paurāṇic stories.

The story of the churning of the milk-sea, part of which has been borrowed in the *Tantu Panggelaran* and the *Manik Maya* from the Ādiparvan, offers an interesting comparative study. Dr. Juynboll,¹ who noted this point long ago, observed that the height of Mount Mandara (peak of the Mahāmeru), according to the Sanskrit Ādiparvan, is 11,000 Yojanas; according to the *Tantu*, one hundred thousand Yojanas. Then again, in the Ādiparvan, Viṣṇu appears in the rôle of a tortoise, and Vāsuki assumes the functions of a rope. In the *Tantu*, however, Brahmā occupies the place of Viṣṇu (as a tortoise), who, in his turn, takes the place of Vāsuki of the Ādiparvan (as a rope). In the *Manik Maya*, these duties are performed by three deities, viz., Brahmā, Vāyu and Indra. It is interesting to note that this episode has also been immortalised by the Khmer decorators at Angkor Vat in Cambodia, where the panel runs for about 50 yards. Here the churn-staff is Mandara, round which is coiled the serpent Ananta to serve as a rope, and Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise supports the mountain.² So, the tradition of the Khmer artists was quite different from those recorded in the *Tantu Panggelaran* and the *Manik Maya*. The Paurāṇic story of how Śiva became Nilakanṭha tallies in some respects with those recorded in the above-mentioned works.

As regards the episode about the origin of eclipse, we notice some slight discrepancies from the Sanskrit Ādiparvan. The Indian work states that the Sun and the Moon brought information to Viṣṇu about the theft of nectar by Rāhu. Angkor Vat gives a faithful version of the Indian story. In the *Tantu*, however, the rôle of Rāhu was played by Rātmaja and Rātmajī, names unknown to Old-Javanese

1 *Bijdragen T.L.VK.*, 1895, 6th Series, Vol. I, p. 95 ff

2 Cf. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, t. III, pp. 233-234, 612; Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, t. II, pp. 289, 325-326; also *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-12, pp. 189 and the plate facing p. 190.

and Sanskrit Ādiparvan. Some *Kawi*-works also give an account of the same theme, but we shall discuss them later on. It was doubtless a very popular myth; because, it has penetrated not only among the Javanese peoples, but also among the Dayaks, Bataks, Alfurs of Halmahara, etc. The Rāhu of Indian mythology is Rahu with the Malayese, Raho with the Dayaks, and Akkalau (*Skt.* Kālārāhu) with the Bataks.

The *Tattva Sawang Suwung*¹ is also a cosmogonical work. It states how Sang Hyang Tayu created by his *yoga* two deities, *viz.*, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, from his right and left eyes. Through *yoga*, again, he created Sang Hyang Aji Ruci, who, as the story says, was responsible for the incarnation of Sang Aji Bhaya. The author then gives an account of the creation of wind, earth and fire. After that, by orders of Sang Hyang Tayu, Brahmā created the first man, who became known as Kaki Manuh; Viṣṇu created the first woman, who received the name of Nini Manuh. After the creation of man and woman, the Sun and the Moon were shaped. It has been stated that Nini Manuh begot five children, *viz.*, Kaliwon, Wage, Pon, Pahi and Manis. As we have seen above, they are merely the five Balinese names for the five days of the week.

The *Ādipurāṇa*², which we propose to describe now, combines in itself the characteristics of a work on Jurisprudence and on mythology or mythical chronology. It opens with two mutilated ślokas, which describe the aim of the Veda, and furnishes details of some deities. The main hero of the story is Vismanagara, king of Praśānagara. The author describes that he was fully versed in the *Aṣṭādaśadharmā*, which is divided into three categories, *viz.*, *Kaniṣṭha*

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, Cod. 3981 (1).

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 172ff., *Cod.* 5019; Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, p. 304ff.

(=Kaniṣṭha), *Madya* (=Madhya) and *Uttama*. The particular sections of the *Aṣṭādaśadharmā* are working, eating, marriage, as well as duties to elders, old peoples, friends and the sick. It further presents some regulations regarding play, business, duty of the master to the servant, treatment of animals, regulation of debtor and creditor. It gives some details regarding trials, religious duties and the path to be followed by administrators. According to the story Vismanagara, discerning the transitoriness of life, followed the advice of Bhaṭāra Parameśvara and went along with his wife Girimūrtti to the Paṇḍita Wkas ing Tunggal ring Jagat for being enlightened of his own origin. The high-priest could not satisfy his curiosity and, being guided by a celestial voice, he, along with his wife, got into a boat, which began to drift by itself towards Gawangan, where the great sage Mūrthitasana lived. The great seer began to discourse upon cosmogony. He said that Sang Hyang Avarunting had a large number of eyes in different places of the body,¹ from which originated Mayanisprha, earth, atmosphere, firmament, Bharuṇa (=Varuṇa?), gods and others. Tribhuvananda (=Tribhuvanāṇḍa) originated from his lips, while Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa came out of his fontanel. Avarunting, after the loss of his eyes, created Bhagavān Sardḍa, who was responsible for the incarnation of Vindupwana. The latter, being in possession of the book called *Kalimahosad*, brought order into the world and created many gods, elements and various sciences. The author now describes the origin of the four castes. He says that the Brāhmaṇas owe their origin to Bhagavān Sūksmasadaka, Veṣṭas (=Vaiśyas) to Tripurvana, and the Śudras (=Śūdra) to Bhagavān Kṛpaduraṅgā. Bhagavān Turyyantapada has been described as the source of the Kṣatriyas. Then follows a long genealogy of Turyyantapada, animals and other persons. Then follow

1 It reminds us of the thousand-eyed Indra, king of gods.

some indecent passages corresponding to those leading to the birth of Kumāra in the famous *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa. The author has then devoted some space for discussing the penances of Dūrmiththa, who begot *bhūtas*, Tripuruṣas (= Śūdras), and human sons ; they were sent by their mother to bring the white Kidang Karacaraṇa and a kind of peculiar stone. The adventures of these persons have been discussed at some length. At length, Dūrmiththa passed off to heaven.

Vismanagara now enquires of Mūrththitasana about the genealogy of the grand-children of Turyyantasukṣma, who, it may be noted, owed their origin to Vindupwana. The author states further that the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which must have assumed the position of a holy scripture by this time, was received by Bhagavān Sukṣmasadaka, a great ascetic, who was performing penances on the mountain Sṛṅgakasturi. The seer now traces the history of the Śūdras (= Śūdras) and the Candalas (= Caṇḍālas) to Kṛpaduraṅgā, but his disciple, the king of Praṣṭanagara, was constrained to remark that all these peoples belong to a common stock. King Vismanagara now queried about the *amṛta* or nectar, and the sage related various incidents connected with its transference from the nether world to its deposit in *Śvetakamaṇḍalu* at the bottom of the sea. The author states that this was received by Nārāyaṇa, who allowed the gods to drink the rejuvenating nectar. The Suradānavas and Hēndrārarawu Singikā also wanted to taste this amṛta, but their demand was flatly refused. Though it was kept under strong guard, this Singikā was able to steal it. Being informed of this by Sūrya, Viṣṇu discharged his weapon at the neck of Singikā ; the trunk fell down, but the head became immortal and the devourer of the Sun and the Moon. It has to be noted that the story of the eclipse, in this book, though resembling the ground-plot of its counterparts in the Sanskrit and the Javanese Ādiparvan,

the *Tantu Panggelaran* and the *Manik Maya*, still differs from them in points of detail. After cursing the Dānavas for their misdemeanour, Sang Hyang Wênang thought it fit to rebuke the gods for their inattention in guarding *amṛta*. Murtthitasana now describes how Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īśvara and other gods were deputed to protect the world and incarnate themselves in different kings. It is curious, though not surprising, that Pañcamahābhūta and Tanmatra (=Tanmātra) have been personified. Nandiśvara (=Nandīśvara) and Mahakala (=Mahākāla) were asked to guard the doors of the world. The author then gives a long genealogy of the Daityas, Yakṣas, Bhaṭāra Nirantara, further the genealogy of Vindupwana and many other kings. At length Vismanagara enquired of the great sage about redemption, and Murtthitasana advised him to give up his royalty and kingdom so that he might get *amṛta* or the nectar of life. After many adventures, the king and the queen obtained *amṛta*, and therewith the salvation which they desired so much.

It should be noted that the work betrays some characteristics of Indian Paurāṇic literature. Expounding philosophical views or matters of spiritual interest by means of conversation between the preceptor and the disciple is a notable feature of many Paurāṇic works, and the present work unmistakably bears that stamp. A large number of names are doubtless of Sanskrit origin, though many of them appear to be strongly Javanised. It is curious that the author has accepted some terms of Indian philosophy as if they were the names of persons. Then again, some gods having several names have come out from the laboratory of the author as separate entities. Though the names and activities of many peoples and gods of the *Ādipurāṇa* waft us into the familiar environment of Indian mythological literature, the frame work of the story seems to be the creation of a native artist of Indonesia. Some traditions incorporated in the work were

probably derived from current traditions of the times, while others, though Indian in origin, have got the exotic colouring of these islands. It is thus a hybrid compound of Indo-Javanese elements. We should not forget to mention, however, that Bhaṭṭāra Guru, who is the highest God even in some late classical works of Java, has been superseded here from his supreme position by deities with Javanised names. Dr. Pigeaud¹ suggests, and probably he is right, that the work was a kind of *Praśasti* or glorification of king Vismanagara, who might have been a forefather of the king to whose court the anonymous writer was attached.

It is not an easy task to ascertain the date of the present work. A Lombok MS. marks the date 1799 at the colophon. We tentatively accept this work as a literary product of the 16th century A. D.

It would thus appear that the undercurrent of spiritual life, as depicted in the Javanese mythological works, was not very different from what is in the Indian ones. Gods have appeared in both as the guardian angels and protectors of arts, crafts, vegetation and the world. Gods are either self-created beings, or they emanate from different parts of the body of some particularly powerful deities. Some have been described as not born of the mother's womb; some have gone so far as to create their own grand-fathers² ! Many religious orders of the country are founded by Indian gods. The books have again laid great stress on the *sthūna-māhātmya* and the *nāmamāhātmya*, and have transferred the best-known Indian places to Java. The three worlds, seven nether worlds, etc., with many of their presiding deities, whom we frequently notice in Indian mythological literature, are well-known. Ascetics often resort to hard

1 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, p. 310.

2 Cf. *R̥gveda*, 10/54/4, 10/72/4, 10/90/5; also *Atharvaveda* 13/4/29—39 .

austerities for 12 years, people are cursed to assume repulsive shapes in this world till they are redeemed. Gods are frequently born as kings on earth.

We shall now discuss some semi-mythical works, which seem to contain some genuine traditions of olden times. The celebrated Javanese work *Aji Śaka* may be grouped in this category. It was edited by Winter in the middle of the last century and part of it was translated by Raffles in his History of Java¹. We present here only relevant passages which seem to contain the tradition of Indian emigration to Java. It states :—

“.....2000 families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling². These peoples prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an uncivilised state till 289, when the Almighty blessed them with a prince named Kāmo, who reigned for 100 years, at the end of which period he was succeeded by Bāsu Ketī. The name of the kingdom was Virata. Bāsu Ketī dying, he was succeeded by his son, Māngsa Pāti. Father and son together reigned 300 years. Another principality, named Astina, sprang up at this time and was ruled by a prince called Pūla Śara, who was succeeded by his son Abiasa, who was again succeeded by his son Pandu Dewa Nata ; the reigns of the last 3 princes together amounted to 100 years. Then succeeded Jaya Baya himself, who removed the seat of government from Astina to Kediri.....”

We have seen in the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* how the princes of Daha claimed descent from the holy Pulaha. In this part of the *Aji Śaka*, the author has similarly sought to connect the royal dynasties with the heroes of the Bhārata War. The legend which we have quoted above is further continued in some other legends, parts of

1 Vol. II, p. 73ff.

2 I.e. Kalinga.

which were abstracted by Kiai Adipati Adi Manggala. We may again take up the thread of the story which starts afresh with the reign of Jaya Baya. Our extract says,¹ "When Prabu Jaya Baya of Astina died, he was succeeded by his son and descendants, named Ami Jaya, Jaya Amisāna, Pāncha Dria and Kasuma Citra. During the reign of the last of these princes, either the seat of government had been removed, or the country had changed its name, for it was then called Kujrat or Gujarat; and it having been foretold that it would decay and go to ruin altogether, the prince resolved to send his son to Java, and possessing the written account of *Aji Saka*, which had been preserved in his family, he gave it to his son who embarked with about 500 followers for the island.....They found that part of the island now known by the name of Matārem, when the high-priest, opening the book of *Aji Saka* and referring to the prophecy that Java should become an inheritance to the descendants of Prabu Jaya Baya, summoned the whole party together and formally proclaimed the prince as sovereign of the country under the title of Browijāya Sawela Chāla. The name of Mandang Kamulan was then given to the seat of government. The prince then lost no time in improving his capital, which became an extensive city in the year 525. From this period Java was known as a celebrated kingdom and extensive commerce was carried on with Gujarat and other countries."

The most popular early history of Java is contained in the following interesting account, which sets up a sort of mythical chronology² of the early kings of the island. In this list we come across the names of some

¹ Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. II, p. 87ff.

² For some other legends of this category, see 'Catalogue of Manuscripts in European languages belonging to the Library of the India Office,' Vol. I, pt. I, 1916, p. 15 ff.

heroes of the Lunar dynasty, which prove the influence of the great Indian epic upon the peoples of Java. The name of the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—Devi Sinta—also occurs incidentally. The story proceeds to state that before the creation of any human being in Java, the presiding deity of the country was Viṣṇu, who was followed by Tritresta, son of Jāla Prāsi and grandson of Brahmā. He established his government at the foot of Gunung Semiru (Skt. *Sumeru*) with its capital as Giling Wesi. His sons were Manu Manasa and Manu Madeba. Two exquisitely beautiful damsels, *viz.*, Sinta and Landap, lived at his court and the description of their incomparable accomplishments allured Watu Gunung of Kling to declare war against him, and he was slain. Thus Watu Gunung, the adventurous hero of Kling, became the overlord of Giling Wesi, which he ruled for 140 years. He was ultimately punished and killed by Viṣṇu in the year 240. The vacant throne, however, was occupied by Gutāka of Kling, a *protege* of Baṭara Guru, and he ruled for 50 years. In 290, he was succeeded by his son Raden Sawela, who, after a reign of 20 years, was succeeded by Gutama. He removed the capital from Giling Wesi to Astina, which was again given up for Lagrestina. Meanwhile, Raden Dasa Wiria, son of a Brāhmaṇa of Gunung Jali, established himself at the foot of the Lower Mountains in Java and his son Dāsa Bāhu captured Astina in 310. He was succeeded by his son Suantana who began to rule the country wisely. In course of time a son was born to him; but the mother died in child-birth and this necessitated the discovery of a woman who could suckle the new-born baby. It happened that on one occasion Ambu Sari, wife of Pula Sara, the grandson of Tritresta, was walking with her child Abiasa, when she came across Suantana, who was seeking a wet-nurse for the new-born baby. But Ambu Sari would not suckle him at all, unless the prince promised her the kingdom of

Astina, which she wanted to hand over to Abiasa when grown up. The prince entered into this bargain, and accordingly Abiasa came to the throne in 415. Deva Brata, son of Suantana, became the prince of Kumbina. Abiasa married in advanced years and begot 3 children, of whom the oldest was the blind Drestarata.¹ Of the other two, Pandu Deva Nata was very handsome and the youngest, Rama Vidara, was lame. After a reign of 12 years, Abiasa² transferred the sceptre to his able second son Pandu, who married in course of time Devī Kuntī. By her, he begot 3 sons, *viz.*, Kunta Deva, Sena and Jināka and by his second wife, Madrin, he got Nakula and Sadeba.³ As Pandu had died and his sons were minors, Drestarata was declared the protector, who, instead of returning the kingdom to the sons of Pandu, transferred it to his own son Suyudhana, who thus became the king of Astina.⁴ The sons of Pandu were asked to settle in Amerta, wherefrom they sent their cousin Kṛṣṇa to demand restitution of at least the half of the kingdom. But the proposal found no favour with Suyudhana and hence a war, the celebrated Brata yudha,⁵ was declared against the sons of Drestarata, in which Suyudhana fell fighting. Puntudeva thus became king in 491, though two years later he gave up the royal sceptre to Parikisit, son of Abhimanyu, who was duly followed by his son Udayana. Then succeeded Jaya Derma and his son Jaya Misana to the throne of Astina. As pestilence now broke out, Jaya Misana's son, Jaya Purusa, removed the capital to Milawa, where his descendants reigned till Bisuracampaka departed for Mendang Kamulan, where he lived as a Paṇḍit. The third king after him was Aji Jaya Baya, who became sovereign of this country and named it Purwa Cirita. It is related of

1 Dhṛtarāṣṭra

2 Vyāsa.

3 Sahadeva.

4 Hastina.

5 Bhāratayuddha.

him that by orders of Batara Guru, he dictated the *Brata Yudha* in 701. He was followed by his son Salāpar Wāta in 756. Jaya Langkara, his son, succeeded him to the throne and before committing himself to the fire, divided the kingdom among his four sons. Subrāta, his first son, was installed over Janggala ; the second son Para Yara got Kediri ; Jāta Wida, the third one ruled over Singasari, while the youngest one, Suwida, got Ngarāwan.¹

Before we try to find out the grains of fact from tons of fiction, we should like to preface our studies with some remarks of Dr. Hazeu. He says² that the attempt to trace epic heroes as forefathers of kings in many *Babads* or chronicles was not favoured in the Majapahit period ; this was an official attempt in the post-Majapahit period to lend an aristocratic colour to the ruling dynasties. The compilers, who were entrusted with the task of preparing genealogies and the lists of kings and kingdoms, lacked chronological ideas, and they have sometimes filled up gaps with fantastic things.³ Gradually there came the reconstruction of old history. But the earlier part, as Dr. Hazeu says,⁴ still contains fabulous matter and though we can find here and there faint traces of historical facts, they do not tally except perhaps in mere names. It will be our endeavour to show that some of them preserve historical facts and that they exactly agree with the information deduced from inscriptions.

1 *I'ide Raffles, History of Java*, Vol. II, 1830, pp. 78-82 and the chronological table on p. 86. The extracts of Raffles, of which we have given above a summary, are based on "the manuscripts of the Eastern parts of Java, Sumenap and Bali, as collected by Nāta Kusūma," who is "not only distinguished among the Javans for his eminent erudition," but would also "command a high degree of respect among the more civilized peoples of Europe."

2 "*Oud en Nieuw uit de Javaansche Letterkunde*," 1921, p. 6.

3 Hazeu, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 3 .

Now, the first difficulty that would face us is to find out the initial year of the *unspecified Javanese era*, to which the 'Hindu sovereigns' of Java have been referred in the above extract. It has been stated there that in 701 was composed the *Bhāratayuddha*, which, we know, was written in 1157 A.D. Therefore, the initial year of the unspecified Javanese era falls in $1157 - 701 = 456$ A.D. Now, if it can be proved that the characters of the above list,¹ against whose name the unspecified Javanese era stands, can bear the scrutiny of inscriptions and other trustworthy evidence, we can take them, not as literary forgeries of later compilers, but as genuine historical figures. From the list of Raffles, we select the names of Ponto Dewa (No. 11), Udiana (No. 13), Kusuma Vicitra (No. 18) and Aji Jaya Baya (No. 22). Of the last-mentioned king, we shall not say anything, partly because the whole fabric of our studies rests on him, and partly because he is well-known from literature and inscriptions of the mid-twelfth century A.D.

Let us first take up Ponto Dewa, a name well-known in Java as Dharmmavaṃśa. Now the date which stands against his name is 491, which, when referred to 456 A.D., would correspond to 947 A.D. This is the last-known date of Siṇḍok,² the celebrated king of Meḍang, who died without leaving any male issue behind. There is a dark period in Old-Javanese history after Siṇḍok, and this is not much relieved till we come to the last decade of the 10th century A.D., when we find Dharmmavaṃśa, "king of East-Java" ruling. The earlier history of this dynasty has remained still now shrouded in darkness. Mr. W. Fruin-

1 See the convenient chronological table in Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. II, 1930, p. 86.

2 Vide N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, p. 217. Krom mentions that an inscription is dated in 971 A.D., which seems to refer to Siṇḍok. But he himself doubts its veracity.

mees¹ has conjectured that Dharmmavaṃśa might be the son and successor of Makuṭavaṃśa, and further that he probably fought against Wurawari in 977 A.D. But this remains doubtful. So, we have at least two persons of the same name,—one name is furnished by inscriptions and the other by a corrupted list. Now, the problem is, what is the mutual relation of all these Dharmmavaṃśas (if they be not identical), and their proper place in Old-Javanese history.

In order to trace the history of the Dharmmavaṃśas from 947 A.D. onwards, it is necessary to interpret the relation that subsisted between Ponto Dewa (= Dharmmavaṃśa) and the successors of king Siṇḍok. The latter was succeeded by his daughter, Śrī Īsanatuṅggavijayā, who married Śrī Lokapāla, and the issue of their marriage was Śrī Makuṭavaṃśavarddhana. The accomplished daughter of the last-mentioned king was Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatni, who was wedded to Udayana. But, as Krom observes, none of them is mentioned as a sovereign.² Their issue was Airlangga, who married the daughter of Dharmmavaṃśa (Anantavikrama), and became king of Java. It appears that the period was troublesome. When the mighty king Siṇḍok died,³ the country came to be governed by women. As a matter of fact, there was only one male ruler in the post-Siṇḍok and pre-Dharmmavaṃśa (Anantavikrama) period. It is possible that this offered an opportunity to Dharmmavaṃśa (Ponto Dewa) to carve out a small state from the dominion of Siṇḍok. It is significant that Udayana was not king, though he was entitled to that honour through his wife. If Ponto Dewa be a predecessor

1 *Geschiedenis Van Java*, 1922, p. 40.

2 N. J. Krom, *op. cit.* p. 218.

3 Dr. Krom thinks that the inscription of 971 A.D. may not refer to him.

of Anantavikrama, the marriage of Udayana's son with the daughter of Dharmmavaṃśa Anantavikrama marks the union of two rival dynasties.

Let us now take up Udiāna from the list of Raffles. Udiāna is doubtless Udayana, whom we know from inscriptions of Java and Bali. He was the consort of Princess Mahendradattā and ruler of the island of Bali. Airlangga, their son, was born in 991 A.D.¹ The last-known inscription of Udayana in the island of Bali is dated 1022 A.D. The unspecified Javanese year 575, standing against his name, when referred to 456 A.D., would yield 1031 A.D. The small discrepancy which exists between the two dates may be corrected if some inscription is found between 1022-1031 A.D.

We shall now take up Kusuma Vicitra. The list of Raffles does not furnish any date for his name, but the initial year of his successor is 638, which, when referred to 456 A.D., yields 1094 A.D. Now, according to the *Wawatekan* writer, Yogīśvara composed his Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* in 1094 A.D. According to the Balinese tradition,² Kusuma Vicitra is identical with Mpu Rāja Kusuma, also known as Yogīśvara, who is now well-known to us as the author of the Old-Javanese Kakawin. Kern³ doubted the veracity of the tradition on the ground that only the word *Kusuma* is common to both, and there is no independent testimony to prove the identity of Kusuma Vicitra with Rāja Kusuma. We think the Balinese tradition, the *Wawatekan* reference and synchronism for the year 1094 A.D. raise the presumption to the

1 N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 226; also *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, II, 2nd ed., p. 194. The writer of the article in the latter work gives the date 1001 A.D.

2 *Vide* Verhand. Bat. Genoot., dl. XXII, no. 11, p. 12.

3 *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, pp. 70-71.

place of historical certainty. This incidentally settles the most vexed problem of the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin; but of this we shall have occasion to speak more fully later on.

Now the question is : what is signified by that unspecified Javanese era? Why does the beginning of this era fall in 456 A.D.? What particular event has been commemorated in that way? We shall try to answer these questions.

In Java, there were current two eras, *viz.*, the Śaka era and the Sañjaya era. We have tried to prove above that there was another unspecified era current in Java, whose first year falls in 456 A.D. We are inclined to believe that in this year the Śakas of the Gujarat region landed on the island of Java, because Candragupta II had already defeated the Śakas, and at least one Śaka king was killed by him.¹ It is not probable, however, that they were destroyed root and branch. As a matter of fact, the joint-testimony from India and Java seems to show that they maintained their precarious existence in the neighbourhood of the Gujarat region. The certain dates of Kumāragupta I, the successor of Candragupta II, range between 415 and 455 A.D. About the year 455 A.D., the Gupta *Vaṃśa-Lakṣmī* "had been made to totter" by the Puṣyamitras, the Hūṇas (Bhitari inscr.) and the 'Mlecchas' (Junāgaḍh inscr.). If the emendation of Mr. Divekar be not accepted, we may identify the 'Mlecchas' of the Junāgaḍh inscription with the Śakas, who made a supreme effort to recover their lost position. But the Girṇār inscription of 456 A.D. records in the third verse the final triumph of Skandagupta. So there must have been many reasons for emigration from India to Java in 456 A.D. The traditions of these troublesome days are probably preserved in some folk-songs of Gujarat and South

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, pp. 181 ff.

Marwar.¹ The other eras current in India were not known in Java, while the Śaka era was an established fact. So, the year 456 A.D. marks the advent of the Śakas from Western India. There is no inscription of Java dated in the Śaka year before 456 A.D. The outburst of Śaivism somewhat later in Middle-Java also points to the same direction.

There is only one small discrepancy which we ought to explain now. In ancient days, Gujarat was known as Lāṭa, and according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,² the latter name persisted up to the middle of the 10th century A.D. Dr. Majumdar thinks that the "establishment of the ruling dynasty of the Gurjaras at Broach cannot be pushed beyond the end of the 6th century A.D."³ In any case, the difficulty can be met by stating that the legend which we have been studying was compiled centuries afterwards, when the country was no longer known to the Javanese peoples as Lāṭa, but had appeared as Gujarat. Indeed another MS. of Java, abstracted by Kiai Adipati Adi Manggala, says,⁴ "During the reign of the last of these princes (Kusuma Citra) either the seat of government had been removed, or the country had changed its name, for it was then called Kujrat or Gujarat." If this prince be identical with Kusuma Vicitra, as he appears to be, then the above remark preserves a historical fact. For we know, the date of the last-mentioned king works out at 1094 A.D.

1 Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Appendix IV, pp. 491-92.

2 J. B-Br.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, 1903, p. 414.

3 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. X, 1923, No. I, p. 4. published by the University of Calcutta.

4 Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. II, 1830, p. 87.

CHAPTER VII

ITIHĀSA OR EPIC WORKS

THE RĀMĀYAṆA KAKAWIN

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and the *Mahābhārata* of Vyāsa are two of the greatest compositions of all times. Some of the names of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, e.g., Ikṣvāku, Daśaratha and Rāma are found even in the *R̥gveda*. The present Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* embodies some pre-Buddhistic materials. Śrāvastī, Rājagṛha and Kauśāmbī, for example, are famous in the time of Buddha, but we hear of their foundation in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹ Weber thinks² that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* story is contained in the Buddhistic legend, called the *Daśaratha-Jātaka*,³ which appears in some forms on the bas-reliefs of Bharhut and Sāñcī-stūpas (about the 2nd century A.D.). By the time of its composition, the Rāma-legend had assumed no definite shape; because, in this version, we find no mention of the Southern Rākṣasas and Sītā appears here as the daughter of king Daśaratha. Towards the close of the second century A.D., the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* probably assumed its present form and the saga began to spread rapidly from the centre of India towards the circumference. In 1903 Prof. Sylvain Lévi⁴ announced the existence of the history of Rāma in the Chinese version of Ki-kia-ye, the first in the collection of 121 Avadānas. It is dated in the year 472 A.D. In some respects, it

1 H. P. Sāstrī, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. V, Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1872, pp. 120, 172, 239.

3 Fausböll, the *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 123-130, No. 461.

4 *La legende de Rāma dans in Avadāna Chinois*, in Album—Kern, pp. 279ff.

resembles the *Daśaratha-Jātaka* ; because, it does not describe the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the consequent expedition of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Laṅkā. The story is merely confined to the exile of the two brothers and their subsequent return. In this version, Daśaratha is called Cheu-Che, Rāma is called Lo-mo, Lakṣmaṇa is Lo-man and so on. A different version of the saga also occurs in a Chinese collection of some Jātaka-stories, which were translated by a monk of Sogdiana between 222-280 A. D. Though the names of our *Rāmāyaṇa* heroes do not occur in this version, it appears to be more akin to the celebrated epic of Vālmiki. Because, the episodes of Rāma and Sītā's exile, the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa, the fight of Jaṭāyu and Rāvaṇa, the duel of Vāli and Sugrīva, the construction of a bridge to Laṅkā, the ordeal of Sītā, etc., have furnished the frame-work of this version. Quite recently, Dr. F.W. Thomas¹ has given us an account of a *Rāmāyaṇa* story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan, and this has been dated between 700 and 900 A.D. It combines some material from the Bālakāṇḍa to the Uttarakāṇḍa, but the incidents make a wide departure from the version of Vālmiki. Indeed, Dr. Thomas says, "The story, as told, is in form and substance wholly Indian, and the interspersed verses are unmistakably Indian in style and sentiment. But we should seek in vain for an Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to which the text closely corresponds. It follows the general lines of the narrative in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparvan, Chaps. 270-290), but the incidents and the nomenclature differ widely, and indeed surprisingly."²

The subject was more popular in the far eastern colonies of Ancient India. The inscription of Veal Kantel³ states

1 Vide 'Indian Studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman,' Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 193-212.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

3 I.S.C.C., p. 30.

that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the (*Mahā*)*bhārata* and the *Purāṇa* were daily recited without interruption in a Cambodian temple of the sixth century A.D. At Trā-kien in Campā, King Prakāśadharmā (c. 653-679 A.D.) dedicated an image and temple to Vālmiki, the writer of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹ The bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, Ba Puon and other structures preserve the main outline of the great saga of Ancient India. Reserving this topic for separate treatment later on, we now proceed with the account of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which, amongst Javanese recensions, stands nearest to the classic of Vālmiki.

It appears from the bas-reliefs of the great Śaiva temple at Prāmbānān that the Rāma-legend was well-known in Java in the 9th century A.D. We cannot state definitely if the saga was known in the island before that date. Chinese annals of the Liang dynasty² (502-556 A.D.); Book 54, seem to suggest, however, that some kind of Rāma-legend was known in Java during this period. Our reasons for this assumption are that a part of Java was known as Lang-ga or Lang-ga-su during this time, and Groenveltdt says,³ that 'the description (of Lang-ga) suits Java very well.' Indeed "Langka, Langkapura and Ngalengka, though names of Ceylon, have been transplanted to Java in the mythology of the country." In the year 515 A.D., Prince Pa-ka-da-to of this country sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor with a letter containing the following lines, '.....The precious *Sanskrit* is generally known in his land. The walls and palaces of his imposing cities are high and lofty as the Mountain *Gandhamādana*.' The use of Lang-ga as a name for N.

1 *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. XXVIII, p. 149.

2 *Vide* W. P. Groenveltdt, '*Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources*,' pp. 10-12.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

4 W. P. Groenveltdt, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Western Java, the occurrence of Sanskrit and the mention of Gandha-mādana, when taken together, are significant.

There is a large number of versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the lands of South-Eastern Asia. We may mention the *Ramakien* of Siam, which is no less popular than the *Hikaiaat Seri Rama* of the Malay literature. The *Serat Rama* is also met with in various translations of Java. Of these versions, we shall say something later on. Suffice it to mention here that about 1200 early-Javanese versions have been discovered, and they may demonstrate the great sway the saga had over the isles of Indonesia.¹ Of all these versions, the Kakawin of Yogīśvara holds a unique position, and we propose, therefore, to give an account of this interesting Old-Javanese work.

The Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* has at least three recensions extant in India, *viz.*, (1) the Bengal recension, (2) the Kāśmīrī recension and (3) what Jacobi calls recension "C." Now, this work of Vālmiki, as we have it at present, is divided into seven *Kāṇḍas*, each of which has further been subdivided into various *Sargas*. The Old-Javanese work of Yogīśvara, however, gives a narrative of the saga in 26 *Sargas*, containing 2771 strophes. It is not divided into *Kāṇḍas*. The *Sargas* have been faultlessly composed in various Indian *Chandaḥs*.² According to R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, interpolations occur in some strophes of the 6th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 23rd, 24th, 25th and the 26th cantos. As a matter of fact, they are many in the last three *sargas*.³ Relying on verse 49 of the last *Sarga*, Dr. Juynboll conjectured that the writer of this *Kawi*-work was a Śaiva. Indeed we find Rāvaṇa, coming to abduct

1 Vide J. Kats, 'Het Ramayana op Javaansche tempel-reliefs,' p. 17.

2 For an analysis, vide Poerbatjaraka, Tijdschrift V.I.T.L. VK., 1932, dl. LXXII, "Het Oudjavaansche Ramayana".

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

Sītā in the guise of a Śaiva monk not belonging to the fraternity of the Pāśupatas who besmeared their bodies with ashes.

The date of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is a most knotty problem in the history of Indo-Javanese literature. It will now be our endeavour to offer a solution of this problem, and bring order into the confusing mass of evidence, literary and traditional. Dr. Kern¹ has remarked that the writer of the Old-Javanese Kakawin did not know Sanskrit. If that is so, we shall have to assume that Yogīśvara derived the materials of his work either from some current traditions of the times or from a pre existing work, which must have been something like a free Old-Javanese paraphrase of the Sanskrit work of Vālmīki. Of these two possibilities, we are inclined to subscribe to the latter alternative, because a work based on diverse traditions coming from India, Campā and Cambodia—Java being a meeting-place of exotic cultures—cannot enable one to follow, more or less closely, the great epic of Vālmīki. Besides, the second possibility has the additional advantage of explaining all known facts. It is necessary, therefore, to find out the approximate date of that Old-Javanese paraphrase, and the exact date, if possible, of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Now, Dr. J. L. A. Brandes² says that the language of the oldest Kakawins is similar to that of the inscriptions of the time of the king Airlangga (950 A.D.). But the archaism, which the language of Yogīśvara's work betrays, is no longer met with in the epoch of this king, though it has some affinity with the records of the time of king Siṇḍok. And

1 *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, p. 300.

2 *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, Archaeologisch onderzoek op Java en Madura, 1909. "The wolkentooneelen van Panataran—Inleiding tot het Hindoe-Javaansche ornament van oost-Java, en de Javaansche Wajang-figuren," p. 14.

he concludes, therefore, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin, at least the kernel of the story, as we have it, must be dated in the epoch of king Siṇḍok. R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, while upholding the view of Dr. Brandes, says,¹ "The words and spellings which the *Rāmāyaṇa* uses appear to agree with the Middle-Javanese records of c. 850 Śaka or earlier, in any case not later than 900 Śaka". And he has adduced some examples² in illustration thereof. Such are the following—

(a) the admission of *hīaat* conforms to the older inscriptions.

(b) the use of the word *anakbi* for 'woman' occurs in inscriptions of the time of Siṇḍok.

(c) the frequent use of *u* for *i* in words, e.g., *pangguh* and *Lungguh* (= *panggiḥ* and *linggiḥ*) is found in the records before the time of Airlangga.

(d) the nomenclature of village officers, e.g., *rāma marata* and *mageman*, is noticed in the older inscriptions.

Kern³ says that in spite of some obsolete grammatical peculiarities, the book is far younger than the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva*, the *Arjunavivāha* and the *Bhāratayuddha*, though far older than the *Sutasoma* and the *Bhomakūvyā*. He conjectures 13th century A.D. as the probable period in which the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed. Scholars, who have hitherto written on the subject, agree that it must be placed between 950 and 1200 A.D. We shall now try to see if it is possible to be more accurate. We have probably succeeded in proving in the preceding chapter that Rājakusuma, Kusumavicitra and Yogīśvara are identical persons. Now we shall adduce fresh evidence to prove that the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakawin was composed in 1094 A.D. According to the *Prastuti ning Kakawin*,⁴ Mpu Sedah, writer of the

1 *Bijdragen T.L.VK.*, 1926, dl. 82, pp. 181-182.

2 *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK.*, 1932, dl. LXXII, p. 150.

3 *Rāmāyaṇa Oudjavaansche Heldendicht*, Introduction.

4 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 286.

Pāṇḍavavīra, was a disciple of Yogīśvara's son, Mpu Salukat by name. We know of one Mpu Sedah, who was tutor to king Jayabhaya and author of the Old-Javanese *Bhāratayuddha* (1157 A.D.). These two Mpu Sedahs seem to be identical, because their names are identical and the subject of their work is also not different, and both of them flourished in the third generation after Yogīśvara (1094 A.D. + 25 + 25). If we proceed by dead-reckoning from 1157 backwards, we shall certainly stop in the third generation somewhere near 1094 A.D. It may be that all the lists in the *Prastuti ning kakawin* are not correct, but when taken together with other corroborative evidence, some of which we shall describe presently, the list given above seems to fix the date of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* in about 1094 A.D. We shall adduce other evidence. According to a Balinese tradition,¹ Dharmaja and Tanakung, two poets of no small merit, have been described as the sons of Yogīśvara. *Vṛttasañcaya* and *Lubdhaka* stand against the name of Tanakung. Now this Dharmaja has given a description of his patron Kāmeśvara² in his popular *Kawi*-work called the *Smaradahana*, which we shall study later on. We know that there were two kings of this name in ancient Java, whose inscriptions are dated at 1129 A.D.³ and 1185 A.D.⁴ The question is, under which of these two kings was the *Smaradahana* written. Dr. Krom⁵ is disposed to regard the patron in question as Kāmeśvara II, while R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka⁶ thinks

1 Verhand. Bat. Genoot., dl. 22, 1849, 'Voorloopig Verslag van het eiland Bali,' p. 12.

2 Cantos 1 and 39.

3 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, p. 286ff.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

5 *Ibid.*; cf. also *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 517.

6 *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK.*, dl. LVIII, pp. 478-483.

him to be no other than Kāmeśvara I. Reserving elaborate discussions on the *Smaradahana* for a later chapter, we shall merely indicate here the salient points in the argument of both these scholars; because, a proper evaluation of their arguments may throw light on the date of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. Dr. Krom¹ says that Tanakung has used the words "*Girīndravamśaja*" (song 1) and "*Girīndra-tanaya*" (song 37) in his *Lubdhaka*, and, therefore, the latter work must have been composed at least when the first king of Singhasāri was on the throne (1222 A.D.). He is perfectly right, but we do not think there is any adequate reason to identify the author of the *Lubdhaka* with the author of the *Vṛttasañcaya*. Excepting similarity of names, there is no independent evidence to identify these two persons. If this argument of Dr. Krom is not accepted, then the writer of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, another Tanakung, becomes the brother of Mpu Dharmaja. So they have to be placed in the reign of one Kāmeśvara who is sufficiently near the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (for Yogīśvara is their father). And such a reign is that of Kāmeśvara I. It is noteworthy that R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka has also come to the conclusion that Mpu Dharmaja composed his *Smaradahana* in the reign of Kāmeśvara I on independent grounds. The historical data forming the background of songs 38-39 of this *Kawī*-work have enabled him to arrive at such a conclusion. We shall examine the point later on.

There are now some points which we ought to explain. It has been stated before that the Old-Javanese work betrays some archaisms. If those forms were not prevalent after c. 990 A.D.,² how are we going to account for their existence in a work of 1094 A.D. We have said before that the work of Yogīśvara is based upon an Old-Javanese paraphrase

1 *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L. VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 518.

2 We accept here a mean date between 950-1020 A.D.

of c. 990 A.D., drawn from an Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*, probably written in Sanskrit. A writer who closely follows another author cannot escape borrowing, sometimes unconsciously, from the latter. And this is probably the reason why some archaisms have persisted in the work of Yogīśvara, though it was composed about a century later. It may be asked, where is now the book utilised by the writer of the Old-Javanese Kakawin? We may best answer this question by presenting an analogy from the Indian Sanskrit literature. As the classical work of Kauṭilya rang the death-knell of previous works on polity, so also the work of Yogīśvara thrust the Old-Javanese paraphrase into oblivion. There is again another point which we should not omit to discuss. In the Javanese preface to the *Vṛttasañcaya*, it has been stated that the work was composed in the Kediri period under king Kusumavicitra. If our identification of Yogīśvara with king Kusumavicitra be correct, then this is an additional proof of the veracity of the Balinese tradition. The real difficulties which the preface of the *Vṛttasañcaya* offers are that Kusumavicitra has been described as king of Kediri, which, we know, was then ruled by other persons. If we accept him as a local ruler of some parts of the kingdom of Kediri¹ owing allegiance to the imperial power, then the difficulties are overcome. It is quite possible that such a petty state may pass under the sway of Pengging. Dr. Krom² has doubted the veracity of the preface on the ground that the power of Kediri never passed to Pengging, but to Singhasāri. And further, Kusumavicitra as a Kediri-king appeared suspicious to him. We do not think that the historical data at our disposal are

1 Many illustrations can be adduced from Indian inscriptions to prove that petty rulers have described themselves as rulers of "*Susāgarā dharaṇī*," i.e., sovereign of the sea-girt earth.

2 *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L. VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 519.

sufficient to pronounce a final verdict on this point. Lastly, Dr. Kern has expressed the opinion that the Old-Javanese Kakawin is younger than the *Bhāratayuddha* but older than the *Bhōmakāvya*, and has to be placed in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. As he has not adduced reasons for his remark, we have no opportunity to examine its correctness.

We conclude, therefore, that the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in 1094 A.D., the work of Dharmaja about 1126 A.D., the *Vṛttasañcaya* about this period and lastly, that the *Lubdhaka* was composed not earlier than 1222 A.D. This chronology has the advantage that it does not run counter to any published data derived from inscriptions, literature and tradition.

Let us now turn from this puzzling problem to a more serene atmosphere. Let us now see how the *Kāvī-Rāmāyaṇa* presents the whole theme :—

The first canto¹ opens with king Daśaratha, who has been described as the father of Trivikrama or Viṣṇu (2).²

The king is very virtuous and well-versed in the Vedas (3). He is a patron of Śaivism (7) and his prowess is like that of Indra (9). The king has his residence at Ayodhyā (11), and his three wives, *viz.*, Kaikeyī, Sumitrā and Kauśalyā are comparable to Durgā, Gaṅgā and Gaurī (17). The author mentions the names of the Vedas in the 19th strophe but we miss here the *Atharvaveda*. As king Daśaratha fervently wished for sons (21), he invited a certain Ṛṣyaśṛṅga for the attainment of his object (22). In the following ceremony, the *pretas*, *piśūcas*, etc., were propitiated (25). Śiva (26) and the *ṛṣis* or ascetics were especially honoured (30). In course of time, Kauśalyā

1 Vide Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. X, pp. 80 ff.

2 These numerals will indicate the number of the Strophe.

begot Rāma (32); Kaikeyī got Bharata, and Sumitrā became the mother of Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna (33). Then the learned sage Vaśiṣṭha was appointed their teacher (35), and the boys soon mastered various sciences (36). About this time, Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, arrived at the court (38); he wanted the services of Rāma for protecting the *yajñas* or sacrifices of the ascetics (39). Being requested by Daśaratha to relate the occasion of his gracious presence (41), Viśvāmitra described the difficulty of the holy sages (42-44). As king Daśaratha was hesitating (51), he described the latent powers of Rāma (58-59). At last, the two brothers set out on their mission. Here the first *Sarga* ends.

The second canto¹ opens most picturesquely. The poet finds ample scope to show his powers of description. This narration continues up to the 15th strophe, when the poet, like the writer of the Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, says, "There was no water-place which was without lotuses. There were no lotuses which were not full of bees, and the bees were buzzing. There were no bees which would allow their songs go un-heard," and so on. At last Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa came to the cloister and all the sages came to them (29). They bestowed on them celestial weapons like Atidurjayā, Jayā, Vijayā and Jayantī (22). When they saw the giantess Tāḍakā (23), Rāma discharged arrows from his Gāṇḍīva bow, and she breathed her last (24). The two brothers, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, are now worshipped as parts of Nārāyaṇa (30). The demon Mārīca then came to avenge, but he was shot (36) with the Vāyu-weapon (43). The two brothers were again worshipped (47). In the following strophe, the story of Vali, the churning of the Milk-sea and the episode of Rāhu have been mentioned. The poet now leads us to the *svayaṃvara* of Sītā, the daughter of

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 85 ff.

Janaka (49). Rāma now breaks in two the bow of Śiva, with which the latter had killed the demon Tripura in earlier times (56-57). King Daśaratha is now congratulated for being the father of such a son (62-63). While the marriage-party was returning to Ayodhyā, it met Rāma Bhārgava on the way (68). After getting rid of him (71-77), the party again moves towards Ayodhyā.

The third canto¹ opens with king Daśaratha, who was meditating on making Rāma his successor (3). Queen Kaikeyī wished that the honour should pass to Bharata (6). And so she proposed to Daśaratha that Rāma should be sent to the wilderness and that the crown should pass to Bharata (8-13). In this way, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Maithilī had to leave Ayodhyā, and Sumati led them to wilderness (14). The news spread like wild fire, and Bharata, catching scent of it, hurried back quickly. He found all Ayodhyā gloomy and almost deserted (25). King Daśaratha died soon afterwards (26). Bharata, who loved his brothers passionately, scolded his mother for her machinations (30). He passed orders that the dead body of his father should now be burnt (32). Meanwhile, Rāma was on Citrakūṭa, where Bharata appeared (41). Lakṣmaṇa took him to be an enemy, and put the bow in order (42). He noticed, however, that Bharata was without arrows and other weapons (43). Bharata quickly came to Rāma and broke the news of their father's death (44). Rāma asked Bharata to return to Ayodhyā, as he could not violate sacred promises (45-46). The conversation of Rāma and Bharata closes the third canto.

The fourth *sarga*² takes us to the hermitage of Atri (2). Thence the party proceeded towards the forest of Daṇḍaka (3). On their way, the two princes and Sītā met the ogre Virādhā, who was ultimately killed (4-8). They

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 103 ff.

then wended their way towards the hermitage of Śarabhaṅga (9). The sage invoked Rāma as an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa (11). The poet then describes the hermitage of Sutikṣṇa (12). In the 27th strophe, Śūrpaṇakhā makes her appearance. She saw that Lakṣmaṇa was engaged in plucking flowers (29). She took a fascination for him, and put on the guise of a lovely damsel (30). And she sought his love (34-35). He politely refused her love and sent her to Rāma (36-48), who, on his part, sent her back to Lakṣmaṇa (51-53). The latter now suspected her to be a rākṣasī (54), and cut off her nose (55) and she flew through the skies. From the 58th strophe onwards, the poet describes how she sought the help of Rāvaṇa, Khara and Dūṣaṇa. Triśirāḥ became angry, and a huge army was despatched to avenge the wrong done to Śūrpaṇakhā. The fight now begins, and the next canto¹ opens amidst the vicissitudes of the war.

After the fall of Triśirāḥ, Khara and Dūṣaṇa come to turn the scale of the war (1), but they are all killed (2). Śūrpaṇakhā then informs Rāvaṇa of the affair (3), and the latter sends her as a spy (5). She describes Sītā's beauty (13) and says to Rāvaṇa, "Valueless are your eyes if they do not feast on Sītā's beauty.....your ears are useless if they do not catch the melody of Sītā's voice" (14). And this description of Sītā's beauty continues through the following two strophes (15-16). Rāvaṇa now consoles Śūrpaṇakhā (17), and informs Mārīca of his sinister design against Sītā (22). Mārīca tries to dissuade Rāvaṇa (23-28). As Rāvaṇa became angry (29), Mārīca consented to do the errand and transformed himself into a golden deer (39). Then Sītā took fancy for the deer and requested Rāma to bring it for her (41). Rāma pursued the unreal stag, but Lakṣmaṇa remained behind (42). Now, Sītā heard as if

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 110 ff.

Rāma was supplicating for the help of Lakṣmaṇa (45). So she wanted to send Lakṣmaṇa, but the latter hesitated (49). Sītā scolded Lakṣmaṇa by saying that he wanted to get her through the death of his older brother (57). Ultimately Lakṣmaṇa went out (64), and Sītā began to pluck flowers. The following strophes describe the appearance of Rāvaṇa, and are worth reproduction :

“And while Sītā went into the beautiful forest and plucked flowers, Daśānana sought her out in the guise of a monk. He resembled a pure and upright Śaiva monk, virtuous and holy ; his head was smoothly shaved, except for a little tuft of hair on the crown.

“His teeth were as white as crystal. He expected to get a garland of roses and a bowl of pumpkin to attach to his shoulder-belt. His monkish robe was beautifully red and was dyed with lac. He proceeded to ask for alms, by which pretext he could conceal his (base) design.

“While moving on, he mumbled prayers and had pious words on his lips. His glance was gentle and loving—it was outwardly very friendly and captivating, as if nothing remained of his demoniac character. Without any interruption, he wended through the beautiful and solitary woodland.

“Thereupon he saw the daughter of Janaka in the forest. She moved in the wilderness without the least apprehension. Rāvaṇa went to her very much pleased. Soon he appeared before her and addressed her quite respectfully.

“How do you remain in this wood, O celestial one, and pluck flowers ! There is absolutely nothing in this world which can be matched with your incomparable beauty. Indeed, you are perfect ! Moon’s beauty cannot be compared with yours, because her charms pass off by the time of day.

“If the lotus-flowers of the pond—of red and white hues and of rich scent—are plucked off in full-bloom, they can-

not yet stand comparison with your beauty ; because, they close down and decline on the approach of night.¹

"The place where you live is really dangerous, inaccessible for men, a wilderness ! Do you not fear the malicious snakes and wild elephants ? How will your guardians know if you are attacked by tigers ? Such a beauty as thine, O sister, compels men to spill blood recklessly.

"You are so exceedingly soft and tender and really so charming ; the wood has been, as it were, delighted by your presence. How fortunate is the man, who has been acknowledged by you as your husband ! He must deserve some praises for possessing you at the present moment.

"I have travelled through other lands of this world, but I have never come across any one like you ; so beautiful you are indeed ! You appear to me at least the most perfect type of beauty, and my present life is not going to be useless now that I have known you !"

The sixth canto² opens with the particulars of Rāvaṇa, and he now proposes to marry Sītā (1-5). Being rejected by her, he flies with her through the air (6). The poet then describes the lamentations of Sītā (7-14). Now the mighty bird Jaṭāyu throws down the gauntlet and Rāvaṇa picks it up, and thus begins the duel (15-25). The bird is defeated (26). They make for Laṅkā (27) and Rāvaṇa again seeks the hand of Sītā (30). Meanwhile, Rāma is anxious for Sītā and his outburst of lamentation continues up to the 47th strophe. At length, the two brothers reach the place where Jaṭāyu fought with Rāvaṇa

1 Cf. a parallel passage in Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, 4th Act, under 104.

"*Sūryodaye bhavati yā sūryāstamaye ca puṇḍarikasya
Vadanena svadanāyāste samavasthe kṣaṇādūdhe.*"

2 Kern, *op. cit.*

(50). When Rāma dashes forward to kill the bird as if he was the devourer of Sītā, Jaṭāyu breaks the news to Rāma (65-67). Jaṭāyu describes himself as a friend of Rāma's father (68). The bird dies, and is burnt by the two brothers (74). The poet next describes how Rāma killed Dīrghabāhu, and how the latter assumed divine forms (76-78). Dīrghabāhu gives advice to Rāma for his future course of action (83). The two brothers now see a Śavara woman (98), who requests Rāma to make an end of her curse (110). They then repaired to the Pratītakalpa wood (114). The magnificent Pampā lake met their eyes (115), and the poet finds an opportunity to offer a description of the surrounding landscape (115-124). Then they came to R̥ṣyamuka (130). Hanumān now appears before Rāma as a messenger (132), and describes the errand of Sugrīva (144). He says that for fear of Vālin, his master remains concealed in the Mount of Malaya (146). He now seeks the help of Rāma (147). Thus an alliance is cemented between Rāma and Sugrīva (150). As the latter describes the might of Vālin (152), Rāma pierces seven lontar-palm trees to show his strength (158). Now begins a duel between Vālin and Sugrīva (162). But Rāma could not distinguish one from the other (166) and Sugrīva returns almost dead (167). Rāma asks him to put on some distinguishing mark about his neck (170). Vālin falls (172), and reproaches Rāma for his dishonest trick (174-184). Rāma justifies himself by saying that it is the practice of the Kṣatriyas (186). Besides, Vālin's conduct is not above reproach, as he robbed Tārā, beloved of Sugrīva (189). Vālin becomes ashamed (190), and excuses himself by saying that it was settled by Providence that he would fight with his brother (194). Vālin goes to heaven (197), and Sugrīva begins to reign in Kiṣkindhyā (203).

We now come to the seventh canto.¹ Sugrīva was now

1. *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1922, dl. 78, pp. 373 ff.

free from fear. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, therefore, retire to the forest again. Their goal was the Mālyavān hill (1). Rāma sees signs of Manmatha or Manobhava in everything and his whole heart pangs for his dear wife Sītā. The rain-bow, for example, appears to him like the bow of Manobhava (5), fire-flies as the flames of Anaṅga (12). The songs of *Cūta*-birds awaken his saddest thoughts (16). He says, "With the antelope, I must compare your lovely glance.....with the Moon, I think of your beaming countenance. Ah! how you have enamoured me!" (24). Again he says, "The surging waves of the deep sea have lent their undulations on your eye-brows as they quiver! And the glazing feathers of the dancing peacock are certainly, I should think, your glazing hair-wreaths" (25). He arrives at Mālyavān (31). Rāma becomes angry because, Sugrīva has not yet kept his promise, and is still dallying at the palace, forgetting the fate of Vālin. He, therefore, sends Lakṣmaṇa (34-38). The faithful Lakṣmaṇa then proceeds towards Kiṣkindhyā (39). Sugrīva asks forgiveness and says that the proper time has now arrived for work (40-42). He gives orders for marshalling the army of monkeys, and they now move towards Mālyavān (43-44). Sugrīva begs forgiveness of Rāma for the delay (45-46) and despatches Hanumān, Nīla, Aṅgada and Jāmbavān to search out Sītā (48-51). With the ring of Rāma (52) they jumped in the sky and came to the Vindhyas (53). There they meet an exquisite girl, whom they question about her particulars (65). She says that the beautiful house they saw was built by Viśvakarman (72), and that she is a demon-girl, Svayamprabhā by name. Her father's name is Merusāvarṇi (74). The poet then describes how she befools the apes (76-84). In the 85th strophe, the monkeys are introduced to the Sampāti bird, to whom they narrate their calamities and their ultimate aims. Sampāti then gives them directions to Laṅkā, which he describes (99-105). After the apes had reached the Mount of Mahendra (106), Hanu-

mān prepared himself to go to Laṅkā, while others remained behind (113).

The eighth *sarga*¹ opens with a description of the Son of Wind, who "flies as quick as mind" (1). His body moves like a flying mountain (3). A rākṣasī named Dākinī swallows him in a gulp, and Hanumān finds himself in her belly (5). He splits open her belly and moves on (6), while the dead body of the rākṣasī fell in the sea and provided a feast to aquatic animals (7). The hill Menakā in the middle of the sea now comes to his ken (8). As it was the friend of the Wind-god, it invited Hanumān to take rest (9). Hanumān stops and does full justice to his belly with fruits (10-14). He now informs the hill of Rāma's errand and his desire to kill rākṣasas (15-17). He next meets the rākṣasī called Vikatākṣiṇī (18) and passing into her body, he assumes enormous shape and the giantess breathes her last (20). He also observes a large number of rākṣasas, soldiers, etc., and for fear of being seen, he moves stealthily (26). All of them were speaking of Rāvaṇa in high terms (27). Charms like *sulaḥ*, *vajrakāya*, *tidem* are described to be in vogue. Besides, yoga and śāstras are noted as being extant in Laṅkā (29-31). The poet then offers a description of the drinking bouts of rākṣasas (32-34). Hanumān now descends on Laṅkā and observes many nymphs, demon-girls, the Puṣpaka car, etc. (60). He searches for Sītā and proceeds towards the *Aśoka*-garden, situated in the East of Laṅkā (86). Indeed Sītā was there (91). Rāvaṇa also comes to court the favour of Sītā (112-114), who scolds him for stealing her like a thief (128). She then describes Rāma as Puruṣottama and a divine mortal (131-137). Rāvaṇa, disappointed, returns to the city (138). The poet then describes the lively conversation of Sītā and Trijaṭā, the latter being

1 *Biḍragen T. L. VK.*, 1923, dl. 79, pp. 569 ff.

the virtuous daughter of Vibhīṣaṇa (140). Hanumān was exceedingly delighted to perceive the innocence of Sītā (178). As the latter suspects him to be Rāvaṇa in disguise, he relates her former history and his own parentage (179). As Sītā still had her lingering doubts, Hanumān describes Rāma in the Mālyavān hill, the R̥ṣyamuka, the mighty Sugrīva, etc., (189-192). After relating his experiences of Laṅkā (193-194), Hanumān holds the ring of Rāma to Sītā (196). Sītā, quite satisfied, now gives him her crest-jewel (204). After his errand is finished, the monkey-hero decides to spoil the beauty of the *Aśoka*-garden (212). Indeed scattered *palūsa*-flowers dropped like rains of fire (215).

The ninth *sarga*¹ continues the theme of the preceding canto. As the depredations of Hanumān continue, the watchers run off to Rāvaṇa (1-2), and report the whole affair (3-8). Daśamukha asks the rākṣasa army to kill the Son of Wind (9), who, meanwhile, takes his position on the gate behind the rākṣasa-hosts (13). While the demon-soldiers shoot arrows aimlessly (14-15), Hanumān makes a club of a high and thick sandal-tree with which he begins to work havoc on the enemies (16-20). Many are killed and the report of the incident is sent to Rāvaṇa (21-32), who passes orders for a more powerful draft (33). With a long *tūl*-tree, Hanumān repeats his former feats (39). He again spoils the coral-trees (42), and brings about the death of Akṣa, son of Rāvaṇa (45-51). After bathing in the sea, Hanumān again turns his attention to the pleasure-gardens which he destroys (52-57). He then takes some rest outside the garden, and Indrajit, known as Meghanāda, comes to test his valour (58-63). The scenes of their fight are then described (64-73). Bound down by *nāga**pāśa*, i.e., the serpent-weapon, Hanumān is produced before Rāvaṇa (81-84). The latter wants to kill him (91), but Vibhīṣaṇa intervenes.

1 *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, 1924, dl. 80, pp. 11 ff.

The next *sarga*¹ opens with the protests of Rāvaṇa, who recounts the mischiefs done by Hanumān (1-9). The latter argues with Rāvaṇa, and after describing the alliance of Rāma and Sugrīva, he foretells the victory of Rāma (10-25). Rāvaṇa bursts into fury (26), particularly for the death of Yojanabāhu, Tāṭakā, Mārīca, etc., (30-41). Hanumān says that he has been sent as a messenger of Rāma to find out Sītā, and he then answers the accusations put forward by Rāvaṇa (45-67). Being angry (69), Daśamukha orders his followers to set fire to the tail of Hanumān (70). And this is faithfully carried out (71-72).

The theme is spun into the opening scene of the eleventh canto.² Hanumān becomes as large as the Mount Meru, the chain of *nāgapāśa* tears off and he springs into the sky like *kūlāgni*. Tongues of fire shoot forth in every direction, and there is a huge commotion (1). Indeed, houses look like the golden temple of god Īśvara (2). Thus Laṅkā is burnt to ashes (3-4). After taking leave of Sītā from the *Aśoka*-forest, Hanumān again springs into the sky (5-6), and the sea-waters surge up on account of the wind created by his meteoric progress (7). At last he meets Jāmbavān, Aṅgada, Nīla and all other apes (9), to whom he reports the success of his mission (13). Hanumān interviews Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on the Mālyavān hill (16), and delivers to the former the crest-jewel of Sītā and a letter (22-32). All now move on towards the south and reach the Mahendra Mountain (50), wherefrom they saw Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā. Rāma again feels his separation and Lakṣmaṇa consoles him.

The twelfth *sarga*³ opens with the description of

1 *Ibid.*, 1925, dl. 81, pp. 1 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 121 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, 1926, dl. 82, pp. 95 ff.

morning in Laṅkā. Strophes (4-30, 37-44) offer erotic description of young men and women. The poet then speaks of favour-hunters who danced attendance on Rāvaṇa, who is now in his audience-hall.

The following canto¹ describes the arrival of *patihs* and other dignitaries of State. Vibhīṣaṇa, after offering prayers to Śaṅkara, meets his mother (4). She foretells the doom of the kingdom on account of the viciousness of Rāvaṇa (6-13). Then he enters the audience-hall (15). Daśānana holds a council of war in which he relates the progress of Rāma and the death of rākṣasas (20-26). After the speech of Prahasta (30-38), Vibhīṣaṇa observes that none can prevail against Rāma and that Rāvaṇa ought to be reconciled to him (40-96). Daśānana is angry.

The fourteenth *sarga*² opens with the speech of Sumālī, the grand-father of Rāvaṇa on the mother's side. He repeats the wise words of Vibhīṣaṇa and proves the divinity of the mortal Rāma. He incidentally describes how Vṛtra, enemy of Indra, was killed by foams of water³ (1-7), and how Hiraṇyakaśipu met his death in an unnatural way (8-13). Sumālī, therefore, advised Rāvaṇa to be reconciled to Rāma, because the latter was no mean foe (14-19). Kumbhakarna awakes now, and describing the words of his grand-father as a useless sermon, he asks Rāvaṇa to be steadfast to his purpose (20-32). He again falls asleep and Vibhīṣaṇa begins to advise Rāvaṇa, though without any avail (35-47).

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, 1927, dl. 83, pp. 481 ff.

3 Cf. *Skandapurāṇam*, Māheśvarakhaṇḍa (Kedāarakhaṇḍa), Chap. 17. The author describes how Namuci, enemy of Indra, was killed by foams of water.

Various omens appear in the sky (39), and piśācas begin to dance (40). As Vibhīṣaṇa repeats his advice (43-45), Daśamukha bursts into fury (48). Rāvaṇa calls him treacherous and scolds him (49-67). Vibhīṣaṇa now takes leave of Rāvaṇa (70).

In the beginning of the next canto¹ we find Vibhīṣaṇa soaring high in the air for the Mahendra Mountain (1). The monkeys took him for Daśamukha (2), and the son of the Wind-god hurried off to meet him but they recognised each other (2). Hanumān introduces him to Rāma (6-7). The poet now eulogises the virtues of Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma (8-12). As crossing the sea becomes a puzzle to Rāma (13-15), he becomes angry on the sea and takes his mighty bow (16). The whole world shudders (17-18). On account of the heat and glow of his *Agni-vāṇa* or fire-arrow, fish, crocodiles and other aquatic animals become restless and perish in thousands (19-29). It goes underworld and scorches the Nāgas (30). Even the Nāga Vāsuki cannot bear the glow of the arrow (31). The God Varuṇa trembles in his jewelled throne (33) as he sees the arrow glowing like a hundred Suns (34-35). He floats above and finds a hundred thousand apes raising huge uproar (35). The god makes *sembah*² to Rāghava and invokes him as the ruler and creator of the world (37-44). The pacified Rāma withdraws his arrow (45), and makes the dead aquatic animals live again (46). According to the advice of Varuṇa,³ monkeys become ready to build a dam across the sea (47). They bring huge blocks from different quarters (50). Lions and elephants, not to speak of tiny beasts, flee in all directions (52-56). The fleeting figures of apes in the sky, bearing *yojana*-long blocks, appear like Rāhu, and the gods are restless (60-61). All these are deposited before Rāma (62-69).

1 *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, 1927, dl. 83.

2 *Sembah*=Salutation.

3 Strophe 42.

The sixteenth canto¹ opens with Nala, the son of Viśvakarman and architect of the monkeys (1). The superstructure of the bridge was built upon the huge hillock, which was thrown down with a tremendous splash (2). The dam became broad and plain (3-4). When Daśamukha comes to know all, he is apprehensive (5). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa become joyful, while Sugrīva and other monkeys praise Nala for his successful work (6). The march begins and the army views the exquisite Suvela Mountain on the North-side of Laṅkā; it is as grand as the pleasure-court of Indra (7-8). Gandharvas and Kinnaras are enjoying themselves there (10). The beauty of the mountain and that of the sea are then described (11-13). The sights and sounds of the Suvela mountain are graphically narrated by the poet (14-40). The monkeys arriving at the mountain enjoy themselves to their heart's content (41-47).

The poet now introduces us to the seventeenth canto.² It describes in the beginning how the heart of Daśanana was longing for Sītā (1-2). He, therefore, builds two replicas of the heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (4). Now, addressing Sītā that her relations are no longer alive, he renews his former proposal (7-20). Sītā laments her misfortunes (26-35), and says that she would follow them even in the hell *Aveci* (36). She bends over the head of Rāma and laments again (37-45). The poet mentions in the 45th strophe that Rāma followed the *Mānavūgama*. Sītā again laments over Lakṣmaṇa (46). Daśavadana is disappointed in his aim (56-59). Sītā now says to Trijaṭā that she will commit herself to the flames (61-67). But Trijaṭā sees favourable signs, because her left eye dances (75). She therefore wants to meet her father on the Suvela mountain (76), and requests Sītā not to die till she returns (77). She meets

1 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1927, dl. 83.

2 *Ibid.*, 1928, dl. 84, pp. 610 ff.

her father, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (78), and reports to her father all affairs of Sitā and Rāvaṇa (79-80). Her father asks that the true report should be placed before Sitā (81-82). Trijaṭa returns and consoles her (83-90). The fire-god is invoked (92-99). Sitā's pangs of separation are then described (105-110). In the 137th strophe the poet describes that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were originally songs of men.

The eighteenth canto¹ is like the Udyogaparvan of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. It foreshadows the coming war. Rāvaṇa sends the spy Śukasāraṇa to measure the relative strength of the enemy in the disguise of an ape (2). He was detected and arrested (6). Rāma questioning the necessity (7), Vibhīṣaṇa describes that he is a disguised rākṣasa (8). At last he is set at liberty and he escapes to Laṅkā (11). Śukasāraṇa reports that the Suvela mountain has been packed to its fullest capacity by the monkey-hordes (13), and he describes the prominent heroes of the enemies' camp (16-18). As he now advises Rāvaṇa to be reconciled to Rāma (23), the rākṣasa-king bursts into fury (27). Prince Aṅgada now goes to Laṅkāpura (35), and holds an audience with Daśānana (38). The former threatening utter consequences, if Sitā is not returned (40), Daśānana becomes angry and refuses him point-blank (44). Aṅgada reports the result to Rāma.

The nineteenth *sarga*² describes the war-scene of the two contending hosts. It need not detain us long, and we pass over to the next canto.³ The poet describes how the blood of warriors and beasts formed the Vaitarīṇī (1-2). The piśācas and other evil spirits dance in joy (3). The poet describes the fight of Indrajit, Aṅgada, Vajramuṣṭī, Anikumbha and others. The war-scenes continue in tedious details. Indrajit at last bounds down Rāma and

1 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1929, dl. 85.

2 *Ibid.*, 1930, dl. 86.

3 *Ibid.*, 1931, dl. 87.

Lakṣmaṇa in *nāga-pūṣa* (55-61). The monkeys cry over their prostrate figures (64-66). Indrajit reports the incident (74), and there is much rejoice in the rākṣasa camp.

The next few cantos¹ also follow, more or less, the account of Vālmīki. After the end of the battle, in which Rāma and his lieutenants came off victorious, is described the fire-ordeal of Sītā. Dr. Juynboll says that Sītā is ultimately reconciled to Rāma in the work of Yogīśvara, which marks a noticeable departure from the present work of Vālmīki, which ends the legend with Sītā's disappearance in pātāla or the Nether-world.

It will thus appear that the Sanskrit legend does not much suffer in the hands of the Old-Javanese poet. We do not, however, come across the long-drawn episodes of the Bālakāṇḍa nor do we find the history of earlier times as told by Vaśiṣṭha to young Rāma. Indeed, as the work of Yogīśvara is less bulky than that of Vālmīki, the former has not been able to accomodate some more episodes which might have been present in the Old-Javanese paraphrase of the Sanskrit original. Though the poet has left out many things from the scope of his work, he has also introduced some new matters. The current of politics and religion has left some indelible impress on the Old-Javanese kakawin. The meshes of court-life and social ethics have left some trace behind. We can, however, excuse the author on the score that his work was composed centuries after the time of Vālmīki. In style and sentiment, however, the work is truly Indian. The description is powerful and sometimes the comparisons are superb. Some portions of the work are full of puns and the author has devoted more space for mere description than is due to a work of 2771 strophes. But taken as a whole, it is a permanent contribution to Indo-Javanese literature.

1 The remaining cantos have not yet been published in the *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*

We cannot, however, close our review without a few words on two other works, *viz.*, the *Uttarakūṇḍa* and the *Serat Rāma*, with which the Old-Javanese kakawin forms a group. In the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, as we have it, the *Uttarakūṇḍa* stands as an integral part ; in Java, it is an independent work—a free Old-Javanese paraphrase of the last book of the Indian *Rāmāyaṇa*. Dr. Van der Tuuk says that the book is a prose-work interspersed with some ślokas. But they have been so corrupted that they can not be profitably studied without the help of the original. These ślokas generally agree with those of the Telugu recension, though there are differences from the readings accepted in the edition of Gorresio.¹ There is also a Balinese recension of this work ; but it is shorter than the Old-Javanese translation and records some original matters. The book has supplied materials to the *Harīśraya* and the *Arjunavijaya* and, therefore, this will come to our ken again. The closing portion of this work, *viz.*, *Rāma-prasthānikam* and the *Svargarohanani*, reminds us of the last portions of the *Mahābhārata*. Cod. 5031 ends with *Iti Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakūṇḍa prakṛtaṃ parisamapta*.

The *Serat Rāma* written by Yasa di pura in the *tembang macapat* metre may be characterized as a New-Javanese adaptation of the Old-Javanese kakawin. Although it has almost literal agreement with the *kawi*-work of Yogīśvara, it has its deflections, though they are not much pronounced.

1 *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, vol. I, p. 187.

CHAPTER VIII

ITIHĀSA OR EPIC WORKS, *Contd.*

(B) The Later Rāmāyaṇas

In this chapter we shall discuss some other *Rāmāyaṇa* recensions, which form a group by themselves. From this standpoint, the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka*,¹ the *Rama Kling*,² the *Serat Kaṇḍa*,³ the Malay *Hikāiat Seri Rama*,⁴ the *Rama Kidung Bali*⁵ and *Rama Tambak*⁶ are as much near to one another as the works in group (A), described in the preceding chapter. In a general work of this character, it is not possible to do full justice to all these recensions and, therefore, while we shall select the most important ones for our study, we shall occasionally relieve our observations by comparing them with the less important versions. The Malay *Hikāiat Seri Rama* has the advantage of text-editions in Dutch and English, while an elaborate summary of the *Serat Kaṇḍa* has appeared in Stutterheim's *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*. In the following lines we shall make the version given by Dr. Stutterheim the basis of our study.

The work begins with the account of Nabi Adam of Mekah (Mecca) and his sons, *viz.*, Abil and Kabil. The Satan Idajil, whose account is also given, calls himself Manik

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 65 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 67 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 52 ff.

4 Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, 1922, pp. 257-260; She'llahear, *Journ. Straits Br. R. A. S.*, 1917, p. 87 ff.; Roorda van Eysinga, *Geschiedenis van Sri Rāma*, beroemd Indisch Heroisch Dichtstuk, oorspronkelijk van Valmic en naar eene Maleische vertaling daarvan, Amsterdam 1843; Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, 1925, pp. 28 ff.

5 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sas. Hss.*, 1912, pp. 131 ff.

6 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 68.

Maya. The writer has also furnished us with some details of the direct descendants of Nabi Adam.

The *Serat Kaṇḍa ning ringgit purva*¹ also betrays Islamic influences and it opens with the quarrel of Adam and Eva. In the version furnished by Stutterheim, we notice a strange grouping of Islamic and Hinduistic figures, e.g., Nabi Nuh (Noah), Devi Uma (Umā), Sang Hyang Bayu (Vāyu). The writer then offers the description of a great flood from which the devil Idajil escaped by creeping into the ark of Nuh. Then follows the birth of Bisnu and (Viṣṇu) Basuki (Vāsuki). Islamic figures are in the back-ground of these stories.

The history of Rāma and Rāvaṇa² begins in song 22. The birth of Rāma, however, is treated in the 46th canto. All the intermediate songs are devoted to the previous history of both these kings and their families. So the history of Rāvaṇa, which is treated only in the last Kāṇḍa of Vālmiki, is shifted here to its logical place³. The story proceeds to state that the demon-king Kuvaca Indra got Giling Vesi from Brama. He had three sons, viz., Niti Kuvaca, Daica Sumangli (Sumāli) and Jambu Mangli. He had also a daughter called Citravati. The kingdom of Giling Vesi was now re-named Indrapuri. Niti Kuvaca was made king of Bruvaspurva.

The gods apprehended that Kuvaca Indra had hatched a plan of invading heaven. Out of fear for the mighty demon, they formed a group with Sritruṣṭa (son of Srigati), Adiserat (son of Citragada) and Bramaraja (the great grand-son of Nerada). Of these, Adiserat was promised the kingdom of Bruvaskaṇḍa, and Bramaraja that of Indrapuri. Sritruṣṭa promised his help on condition that his progeny should be

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mād. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 53.

2 Spelt as Rahwana.

3 The insertion of Rāvaṇa's history in the last book of Vālmiki has to be accounted for by the fact that Rāvaṇa had no place in the earliest specimens of Rāma-Saga. When the story took more definite form, his history had to be placed somewhere. So it has been placed in that portion which did not form the kernel of the story.

the first kings of Java. After Kuvaca Indra had been killed and his body had vanished, Bramaraja became king of Indrapuri and married Citravati, daughter of the demon-king. She bore him a son named Citrabaha. By his second wife Sastravati, he got several children, *viz.*, Sakisar, Ngamadita and Srimandala.

As promised before, Adiserat became king of Bruvaskaṇḍa.

Then occurred the illicit love-affair of Bisnu and Prativi (Pṛthivī), which came to light through the dragon Naga Pratāla.

Now, Adiserat Anjakravati, to give him his full name, appointed the ape Sapardan and the demon Batlavijan as governors. It happened that about this time Kalamuka and Trituṣṭa aspired after the hand of Citravulan, the sister of Adiserat. They received a chest from Adiserat, who told them that his sister would be found therein. They then returned home; but when the chest was opened, a dense fog arose therefrom. A chain also came out and bound them both. Thus secured, the two kings were led before king Adiserat. Kalamuka threw himself upon the mercy of the mighty king declaring that he did not wish to marry the king's sister, who might be given to Trituṣṭa.

Adiserat got two sons, *viz.*, Dimahraja and Ruvatmaja. His younger brother Muntadari was king of Dravatipura; he also bore the name of Guṭaka. Two sons were born to him, *viz.*, Sri Gutama and Resi Kala. Now Citrabaha, whom we have described previously, wanted to marry Ni Indratna, the daughter of Niti Kuvaca. After overthrowing the demons and installing Sakisar as the provisional Governor, Citrabaha returned to his palace. The intended marriage was now completed; it was also decided that the kingdom should pass over to Balikas should he return. This was followed by the marriage of the king with Sukesī, the daughter of Sumangli of Purvakaṇḍa. By his first wife, Ni Indratni, Citrabaha got a son, Dasamuka by name; the second wife bore him twins, *viz.*, Ambakarna (Kumbhakarṇa) and Sarpakanaka (Śūrpaṇakhā). Later on Vibisana was born.

According to the *Hikāiat Seri Rama*, their sister was Sura Pandaki¹, which is evidently a corruption of the Sanskrit name.

On account of his insolent behaviour, Dasamuka was exiled by his father, and he set foot on the island of Ngalengka. This is also related in the Malay recension of the story. Coming to this island, he found Purvaningjalma (Nabi Adam),² who promised him sovereignty of the four worlds, spirits and demons, and so forth, if he were virtuous and committed no harm to ascetics. Then he received the name of Rahvana Aji, and after building a most beautiful residence, he appointed Vagrasinga as the *patih*. Meanwhile Bisavarna, brother of Rahvana, had seized the throne of Citrabaha. Rahvana now hit upon the idea of teaching his father a good lesson. He, therefore, appeared before Indrapuri; Bisavarna escaping to heaven, Rahvana seized his palace. After placing Vilmanaramja, son of Bisavarna, on the throne, he made Sakisar Regent of the Capital.

Meanwhile from another side a revenge was planned. When Balikas returned to Bruvaspurva, he heard the activities of Citrabaha and thought of a reprisal. But Sakisar wanted to avert the catastrophe. All came to Ngalengka and, as was natural, the new friendship was cemented by marriage. Thus, Vagrasinga married Sarpakanaka, Ambakarna espoused a daughter of Balikas, Vibisana married Srimalahina, and Caturjan, son of Citrabaha, married a daughter of Sakisar.

After storming heaven, from which the gods narrowly escaped, Rahvana thought of chastising Adiserat; because, he thought that the latter had insulted his messengers. Two envoys were sent to Adiserat with demand of submission. The threatened king prophesied that Rahvana would be victimised to the monkey-heroes. Sang Pardana, the

1 Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, p. 258; also Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss.*, 1899, p. 41.

2 Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 253.

white ape, would certainly incarnate in one Bergava and bring about his downfall¹.

King Adiserat then went to perform asceticism. Rahvana now wanted to lift the wife of Adiserat in the disguise of her husband. But Batlavijan and Pardana, two generals of the king, pressed him hard, though they were killed. Pardana promised revenge in his incarnation of Hanuman. Meanwhile, the object of all his struggles had fled to her lawful husband. Rahvana also went there but was defeated by Adiserat.

In course of time, Dimahraja, the son of Adiserat Anjakravati, became king of Bruvaskaṇḍa under the name of Adiserat Maharaja. The younger son, Ruvatmaja, began to clear away the jungles of Mandrapura² for the purpose of founding a city.³ In the Malay *Serat Kaṇḍa*, there are likewise two brothers. Indeed, the *Hikāiat Seri Rama* presents king Daśarata in connexion with an identical occasion, viz., that of clearing away jungles for the foundation of a new city. We find in both the Javanese and the Malay versions that only a bamboo-bush was left out. As the Malay story tells us, it grew up as soon as it was cut off. So the king personally went there, and, after destroying the bush he discovered a most exquisite woman. The Javanese *Serat Kaṇḍa* tells us that the king used to enjoy the coolness of the night in the neighbourhood of that grove. One night he saw a luminous figure slipping into the bamboos. He laid there a snare and succeeded in catching the nymph, who was no other than Balyadaru, the grand-daughter of Hyang Visnumurti. In the *Hikāiat Seri Rama*, her name appears as Mandudari and Baliadari is the name of a different wife. Now, as the Javanese recension tells us, this Balya-

1 *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 254. Dr. Stutterheim says here that Bergava is not the incarnation of monkey and the mistake might be due to the fault of writing. Sang. Pardana would rather incarnate in Hanumān.

2 In the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka*, it is called Vidyapura.

3 At this point begins the *Rāmāyaṇa*-story.

daru was married by Adiserat Maharaja. On another occasion, he heard some one again crying in the bomboobush, and was informed by Balyadaru that she was another Vidadari, Retna Aju Bandondari by name, the daughter of Hyang Rura and the grand-daughter of Basuki. She was also taken over to his palace. Ultimately he married her. Visnupati, who came to bless the marriage of his daughter Balyadaru, bestowed on him the name of Daśarata of Mandrapuri.

The writer then introduces us to Rahvana, who is presented as a veritable Don Juan. Now he thought of the necessity of getting the boon of long life. And so he went to Hyang Guru, who sent him back to Visnu. The gods did not like the idea and forged weapons for the coming war. Visnu not only promised his help but also thought of incarnating himself among human beings. Meanwhile, Rahvana came with his prayers to Visnu; his eyes fell on the lovely features of Sri Mendang, the wife of Visnu. As Visnu objected to his having her, he was attacked by Rahvana and defeated. Now both Visnu and Sri Mendang fled and incarnated themselves elsewhere. Rahvana, however, pursued Sri. On the way, he met a Vidadari, the daughter of Hyang Indra, and she kindled his lust. Indra was compelled to bestow the girl on him for fear of the invasion of heaven. After some time, he abandoned her and returned to Ngallengka. He then gave orders to Marica and Gumuka to bring in Sri Mendang from Ngawu Langit, where she had incarnated herself. Arriving there, the messengers found that king Lesmantaka had only a little daughter and they wanted to wait till she was grown up. Lesmantaka sent one of them with a letter to Ngallengka.

The writer of the *Serat Kaṇḍa* then shifts the scene to Dravatipura, where Hyang Guṭaka was reigning. He wanted to nominate Gutama as his successor, but Gutama had no allurements for royal power, and took to asceticism. Thereupon Guṭaka nominated Resi kala as his successor on condition that the latter would relinquish the kingdom if

Gutama returned. As a matter of fact, Gutama once went to the residence of one Gajendra and, after killing him, obtained his daughter¹ for his wife. Then they returned and took the sceptre from the hands of Resi Kala, who, deprived of his kingdom, carved out a new one and called it Mantiladirja.

We have seen before that Visnu had incarnated himself. Indeed, he was no other than Partavijaya, the king of Rancang kencana. His son Arjunavijaya dreamt of a certain Devi Secavati, princess of Ngawu Langit, and he wanted to find her out. In a certain residence, he took to asceticism and was disturbed there by ten kings, who used the palace as a rest-house. This was followed by a battle in which Arjunavijaya became a ten-armed man. The kings were defeated. According to the *Serat kaṇḍa ning Ringgit Purva*,² the daughters of the defeated kings were married by him. In any case, the version recorded by Stutterheim describes that he named the residence Maospati,³ and again proceeded in search of the princess of Ngawu Langit, the daughter of Lesmantaka. As we have seen before, Lesmantaka had already sent a letter to Rahvana, who burst into fury after perusing the letter. He marshalled a huge army under the leadership of Marica.

Meanwhile, Devi Secavati had also dreamt of a beautiful prince, Dasabahu of Maospati. Now this person, who was no other than Arjunavijaya, arrived to court the hand of Secavati. She consented on condition that the prince should find her out from the group of a hundred statues. The prince came out successful from the crucial test. A *Sayembara* was announced in which Dasabaja, so named from his ten arms, became Sasraboja⁴ and succeeded in defeating all his rivals. Accompanied by his bride, he now took seat on

1 Her name is Devi Rontah.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 53.

3 Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 254. In Sanskrit (*Rām.*, VII, 31) it is called *Māhiṣmatī*.

4 i.e. thousand-armed.

the bird Sruvenda and passed through the air towards Maospati. In their aerial progress, the dung of the bird fell in the audience-hall of Ngalengka. Rahvana became very angry and he immediately sent the demon Guṭaka, who could also fly, to discover the reason. Marica observed that Arjunavijaya was flying with the princess, whom Rahvana had tried in vain to woo. The demon-king immediately took an aerial journey to Maospati, while he left instructions to send his soldiers afterwards.

Now it happened that Arjunavijaya was absorbed in deep *samādhi* and Rahvana came to abduct Secavati. In the ensuing turmoil, one of the wives of Arjunavijaya awakened him. The duel now occurring between Rahvana and Arjunavijaya persisted through seven days and nights. In the end, Rahvana solemnly promised to behave well in future and escaped with his life. But no sooner had he reached his own city than he forgot his promise. He was chastised again and men came to discern that Sasrabahu was the incarnation of a god. The whole army of Rahvana returned to Ngalengka.

After the episode of Jasadarma and Sasraboja, the writer of the *Serat Kaṇḍa* takes us to Resi Gutama, who begot three children through his wife Devi Rontah. They were Devi Anjani, Subali and Sugriva. The last two, as the author tells us, were not, properly speaking, their children. The amours of Devi Rontah with Surya brought them to earth. Anjani black-mailed her mother and obtained the Book of Charms called the *Cupu Manik*. She also wanted to possess the box from which hush-money was given by her mother. As this brought about a quarrel, the whole incident came to the knowledge of her father. Now Gutama threw it off into the sea and declared that the one who would be able to fetch the box from the depth of the sea should be the rightful owner of it. Anjani gave proxy. But neither her proxy nor her brother succeeded in bringing the box. As they came above, they saw themselves turned into white apes. Out of revenge, they washed the face of Anjani with the same

water and she got the face of an ape. Through a curse, her mother was also turned into stone, and Gutama then went to practise austerities on a polished stone. Anjani also took to asceticism and sat on a needle-point in the middle of the sea. Subali sat on a tree and Sumanda, the proxy of Anjani, sat thereunder.

The scene then shifts to another place. We find now Ki Bujut, who got Watu Gunung as his son. As he was not blessed with a son of demoniac appearance, he longed for one and the gods gave him Getah Banjaran. The latter robbed Devi Taravati, the daughter of Baṭara Tantra. The young woman naturally did not like the demon and ultimately escaped by a stratagem. A duel between the two Don Juans—Rahvana and Getah Banjaran—is then described.

Now Nerada, the messenger of gods, sought for someone who could match the strength of Getah Banjaran. He discovered Subali performing penances on the branch of a tree. As the reward for his success, Nerada promised him Devi Taravati and gave him the spell called *Pancasona*, which ensured long life. Coming from the sea, Subali began to fight with Getah Banjaran, who was ultimately done away with by means of the charm. This episode also occurs in the Roorda van Eysinga's edition of the *Hikāiat Seri Rama*¹. Thus Subali married Taravati and built a palace through the power of his asceticism. It was called Ragastina. Sumanda became his *patih* and ultimately famous under the name of Jembavan. Sugriva became *patih jero*. Now Resi Kala became king of Dravatipurva and Gutama went to heaven.

Rahvana once saw Devi Taravati in her pleasure-garden, where she passed her term of pregnancy. As Rahvana came to abduct her, he was defeated by Subali. Everything, however, was re-adjusted, and Rahvana was

¹ It has to be remembered that the editions of Eysinga and Shellabear are not identical. Some new materials occur in both; the edition of Shellabear, however, is more complete.

accepted as if he were the younger brother of Subali. After returning to Ngalingka, he heard floating rumours about the beauty of the wife of Daśarata, known as Bandondari. He flew through the air to Mandrapura to demand the girl for himself. Bandondari, however, devised a trick to put dust into the eyes of Rahvana. She created her proto-type from the slough of her body. She was called Bandondari-klalar, while the original Bandondari became known under the name of Devi Rago. Now Rahvana came with her to Ngalingka. Daśarata, however, slept with the pseudo-Bandondari, though he returned home for being favoured with a son through the instrumentality of Begavan Candradeva. Dr. Stutterheim¹ says that in many authorities this son was born even before the wife of Daśarata was given away. The episode described above marks a noteworthy agreement with the Malay *Hikāiat Seri Rama*.

Visnu and Sri now wanted to re-incarnate themselves at Mandrapura, and Basuki wanted to follow them as a companion. At this time Rahvana appeared there and they had to flee. Visnu escaped by becoming the son of Daśarata, while Sri transformed herself into the daughter of Bibit-samuka. As she was still pursued, she changed herself into an egg, which was swallowed by Rahvana. The latter then returned home and enjoyed the company of the pseudo-Bandondari. He vowed that if his wife gave birth to a male child, he must fight with him, and if it was a girl, she must be his wife².

In Mandrapura Balyadaru bore a son; he was an incarnation of Visnu and was known as Bergava. Rago had also a son called Murdaka, who was an incarnation of Basuki. Daśarata got some more children, of whom the first two were Braganta and Tuvignja. Thereafter Balyadaru bore him Berdona, while Rago got Citradona.

The celestial weapons of Visnu, which were changed

1 *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 255.

2 In Fraser's *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. II, we come across many such instances from the Archipelago.

into animals at the time of his last fight with Rahvana, were again transformed into weapons. The first heroic deed of the young boys was their fight with Jasadarma of Maospati.

Now, Rahvana's wife Devi Kendran got a son called Indrajit. The pseudo-Bandonari gave birth to a girl, who was an incarnation of Sri. Her mother, fearing that she would be married to Rahvana, placed the baby in a chest and set her adrift in the sea. Meanwhile, Cibisana (Vibhīṣaṇa) obtained a son called Meganada through charms. Rahvana visualised that the boy would once fight with him, and so he flung him on a stone. But the boy lived on. The episode of the drifting baby also occurs in the *Hikāiat Seri Rama*.

Now, the drifting chest was discovered by Resi kala of Mantili; he took the girl as his daughter and christened her Sinta. When the girl grew up, Resi Kala found a bow falling from heaven. He thought that the person who would be able to bend the bow and pierce nine palm-trees should obtain his daughter as a wife. Many kings came from far and near, but none succeeded in the task. At last Bergava came and succeeded in obtaining the prize of the archery-contest. Rahvana, who had succeeded in piercing up to six palm-trees, was extremely disappointed. The *Rama kiding Bali*¹ corrupts the already corrupted episode by introducing into it some heroes from the *Mahābhārata*. Apparently, the author has confused it with the *Svayaṃvara* of Draupadī; because we find here not only Rāma and his brothers, but also Duryodhana, Bhīma, Arjuna, etc. The episode in the *Rama Nitīs* is still further distinct².

After the marriage ceremony was over, Bergava accompanied by his bride and brother Murdaka, proceeded home. On their way to the capital, Murdaka took to asceticism with Resi Candradeva.

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sas. Hss.*, 1912, p. 131.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 75.

The author now describes how Bergava and Sinta were transformed into monkeys. The Malay recension tells us that Rama and Sita one day took bath in a pure pond and they were immediately changed into apes. According to the advise of Lakṣaṇa, Rama plunged into the impure water and forthwith got his own form. But as Sita was already in labour, she could not bear the ape-son any longer. So her womb was placed in the limb of Devi Anjani, who gave birth to Hanuman. According to the *Rama Kidung Bali*¹, the *Rama Kling*, etc., Hanuman is likewise the son of Rama and Anjani.

After this, the Javanese *Serat Kaṇḍa* records a change of names. Thus, Bergava became Sri Rama and Murdaka became Lesmana. King Daśarata sent a messenger to bring them home, but they preferred to remain in the woods. Then follows the episode of Lesmana and Sarpakānaka. Lesmana cut off her nose and she, out of shame, did not show her face to anybody. Rahvana noticed her awkward face and immediately despatched Marica and Vilmukabahu to Sita in whom he recognised his long-lost Sri. Then follows the episode of the Kidang Kencana or the golden Kidang. The rough outline of the episode of Geṇṭayu or Jaṭāyu follows the Sanskrit and *Kawi* versions.

The author then shifts the scene to Kiskeṇḍa, where Mahesasura and Jatasura were fighting. At last Jatasura got the better of his enemy and wished to marry Taravati, the daughter of Batara Sakra. Her father sought the help of Subali of Ragastina for fighting out the demon and promised his daughter as the reward. Accordingly Subali went to the hole of Kiskeṇḍa and succeeded in killing both the monsters. But Sugriva snatched off the daughter of Sakra and became the ruler of Ragastina. Subali, however, ultimately succeeded in winning back his wife, who, after some time, became pregnant.

Now Rama, spent with hunger and thirst, was resting himself under the shade of a tree. On the top of the tree

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sas. Hss.*, 1912, p. 131.

was Sugriva, whose tears welled out in torrents on the bosom of Rama. He got up and made acquaintance with Sugriva, who told him that Rahvana would come to pay his tribute to Subali. Sugriva now entered into an alliance with Rama and they both set out to kill Subali. On their way to Kiskēṇḍa, Rama asked Sugriva to wear wreaths of cocoanut leaves round his neck. This enabled Sugriva to kill Subali. Now Aṅgada became king of Ragastina, while Sugriva married Devi Taravati.

Rama and Lesmana then began to practise hard austerities on the mountain of Suvela. The author next presents a short episode of Rama and Anoman, describing how the latter wanted to partake of some food from the dish of Rama. While describing the crossing over to Laṅkā, both the *Serat Kaṇḍa* as well as the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka* have introduced some heroes from the *Mahābhārata*. From this stage up to the end of the war, the main outline of these recensions does not materially differ from one another. About the death of Rahvana, the *Serat Kaṇḍa* has a very curious story to tell. It describes that after the downfall of the mighty demon-king, he was buried half-dead under a huge mountain. Indeed, this makes a noticeable departure from the original Sanskrit version, which records the death of Rāvaṇa. The *Serat Kaṇḍa* then describes the fire-ordeal of Sinta, from which she came out in virgin purity. At this stage, the author introduces Bandondarikkalar, who was overwhelmed with joy on the discovery of her long-lost baby. The buried Rahvana was frequently creating disturbances and Rama went out to keep a sharp eye on him. Indeed, as the head of Rahvana came out from below the hill, Anoman buried it once more. Rama now directed his attention to bring order into the administration. Thus, Dativikrama, son of Cibisana, was consecrated to the sovereignty of Ngallengka; Sruveni, son of Sakisar, was placed over Indrapura; Balengkara, son of Balika, held sway over Bruvaspurva. The *Hikāiat Seri Rama* and the *Serat Kaṇḍa* agree in stating that Rama then carved out a new city. In the summary of Stutterheim,

the name of the city is Durjayapura. Now it happened that Devī Goṭakju sketched out the portrait of Rahvana on Sinta's fan and placed it on her bed. Rama suspected her to be untrue and sent her to Mantilidirja. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka*, when she was accused of infidelity towards Rama, she was ordered to be executed, and not simply banished, as we find in the Sanskrit version. Lakṣmaṇa took her to Srenggadikara in the hermitage of Bhagavan Lamba and sent the lungs of a dog instead of Sinta's. The *Serat Kaṇḍa* then proceeds to describe how Sinta gave birth to Butlava while in exile. The child was instructed in the secrets of various sciences by Resi Kala. In course of time, the boy picked up a quarrel with a pair of demons who were engaged in the service of Cibisana. They complained to their master as well as to Leśmana, who went straightway to enquire of Sinta. There they were imprisoned by the boy, who brought them both to Mantili. Here they were released by Resi Kala. Lesmana wanted to take back Sinta with him, but she would not go till her husband came. The poet then describes a lively scene of reconciliation between Sinta and Rama. The next function which the author presents is the marriage of Butlava with Endrakumala, the daughter of Indrajit and the granddaughter of Devi Kendran of Membang. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa Sasaka*, however, Sitā had two sons, viz., Botlava and Betlava. In the Sanskrit recension, their names appear as Kuśa and Lava. As the *Serat Kaṇḍa* tells us, Butlava became the successor of Rama. Lesmana and Tvibisana (Cibisana) went to perform austerities on the hill of Ceṇḍana Sekar, while Anoman remained below Kuṇḍalisada to keep vigilance over the fallen Rahvana. The author then furnishes us with a graphic description of Rama, Sinta and their associates, who committed themselves to the flames. Among the prominent figures, we notice also the names of Lesmana, Tvibisana, Sugriva, Aṅgada, Anila, Sribanila, Sraba and Bisamuka¹.

1 For some other Rāma-stories, see *Catalogue of Manuscripts in*

It will appear from the above survey that our present works agree on some points with the Sanskrit and the *Kawi*-recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but these points are outweighed by the number of variations. As the authors of these books had to accept some frame-work for their respective compositions, agreement on particular points does not lead us to any valuable result. It is only through the consideration of differences that we can hope to be near the original source or sources. To take one instance, in the *Hikāiat Seri Rama* and the *Serat Kaṇḍa*, Sītā has been described as the daughter of Rāvaṇa and Mandodarī. The same thing occurs in the Siamese *Rāmaḱien* and in the *Uttarapurāṇa* of the Jains, written by Guṇabhadra-cārya in the 8th century A.D. In some Buddhist versions also, Sītā is Rāvaṇa's daughter. It has been stated in the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* that Mandodarī conceived her by drinking the blood of *ṛṣis*. The problem arises, why this particular episode, differing so pronouncedly from the versions of Vālmīki and Yogīśvara, agree so strikingly with so many non-Brāhmaṇical versions? Has this particular episode to be regarded as the upshot of non-Brāhmaṇical traditions current in Indonesia, or has the story travelled from the Archipelago to India? In any case, the story has behind it a very long history and must be, at least a millennium older than its Javanese version. There are also several other points which seem to throw back the date of the ultimate source of the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇas* to the early century of the Christian era. The Javanese *Rāmāyaṇas*, like the *Padmaṣurāṇa* version of the story, close with the final reconciliation of Sītā and Rāma. Further, the Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* is a separate work, the Sanskrit *Bālakāṇḍa* is almost lacking in the Javanese versions. When taken together, these points seem to prove that the ultimate source of the Javanese recensions was a work which did not contain the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and the *Bālakāṇḍa*, and ended with the recon-

ciliation of Rāma and Sītā. Such a work must have existed c. 100 B.C.—50 A.D.¹ It is probable that a work of this character supplied materials to the Old-Javanese paraphrase upon which the kakawin of Yogiśvara has been based. But while the episode of the final reconciliation of Rāma and Sītā has persisted through many Javanese recensions, old and new, other episodes betray non-Indian exotic elements, which have been mixed up with indigenous and Indian materials. We have seen before how the figures of the Sanskrit epic have been mixed up with Islamic heroes. This is, at least, understandable. After the introduction of Islam into the Archipelago, there is a break in the continuity of Indo-Javanese history, which brought about a confusion of ideals among the peoples of Java and some other islands. And they began to forget or confuse the true characters of Indian heroes. Many grotesque anecdotes, moreover, were invented and incorporated in the so-called later Javanese *Rāmāyaṇas*. All these factors have been conjointly responsible for the peculiar character of many of them. The *Rāmāyaṇa*-recensions that were current in Campā and Cambodia might also have some share in the evolution of the Rāma-saga of Indonesia.

1 In the Chinese versions of this time, there is no suggestion of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

CHAPTER IX.

ITIHASA OR EPIC WORKS, *Contd.*—RĀMAYANA RECENSIONS IN STONE TEXTS.

While the Javanese poets have described the *Rāmāyaṇa*-legend with their pen, the artists have done the same with the help of the chisel. In the present chapter, we shall offer a description of the Rāma-reliefs of the Prāmbānān, Panataran, Ba Puyon and Angkor Vat group of temples, which have given an enduring colour to the popular Rāma-saga. Art criticism is foreign to the purpose of the present work, and we shall merely confine ourselves to the points of agreement and difference of the legend as preserved in these monuments. But before we take up the subject proper, it will be necessary to mention the dates of construction of these monuments as to place the legends in their proper perspective and give them a proper back-ground.

We have already accepted the 9th century A. D. as the probable date of the Prāmbānān group. The Panataran temple in East Java has to be placed several centuries later. Dr. J. L. A. Brandes says¹ that date-mark on loose stones ranges between 1197-1454 A. D. An immovable colossal rākṣasa figure bears the year-mark 1269 Śaka. The main temple, happily for us, yields some dates in Śaka era, e. g., 1241, 1242 and 1245—which, therefore, fall between 1319-1323 A. D. We can then accept 1319-1454 A. D. as the date of its construction². According

1 *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari, etc., De wolken-tooncelen van Panataran—Inleiding tot het Hindoe-Javaansche ornament van Oost-Java, en de Javaansche Wajang figuren*, 1909, pp. 14-15.

2 Cf. Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, pp. 180-181.

to the Prea Kev inscription¹, the Ba Puon temple has to be referred to the time of king Jayavarman V, who flourished between 968-1001 A. D. It is the date of the Angkor Vat group of temples that has thrown a veritable apple of discord among archaeologists and art-critics. No inscription has been discovered that can offer a sure clue to the date of this magnificent structure. Aymonier thought² that the building has to be referred to the time of Sūryavarman II, who, we know, ruled between 1112 and c. 1152 A. D. Some have even conjectured that Divākara, the spiritual preceptor of the king, was the architect of this building. According to M. Finot,³ the complete structure may be placed between 1112-1180 A. D., and we accept this for our present purpose.

There are twenty *Rāmāyaṇa*-reliefs at Prāmbānān, which graphically describe the main episodes of the story from the beginning to the advent of Rāma and his allies on the shores of Laṅkā. According to competent authorities, the story was presumably continued along the balustrade of the adjoining Brahmā temple, but only detached fragments are all that have remained behind. The *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs of the Panataran group begin a little before where the Prāmbānān reliefs end at the present moment. It is noteworthy that the episodes of the Bālakāṇḍa, which are almost lacking in the Old-Javanese kakawin, are scantily preserved in the Prāmbānān-reliefs. Dr. Brandes⁴ doubts if the Bālakāṇḍa-story was at all continued in the neighbouring Viṣṇu-temple.

At Prāmbānān, the artists have begun with the story of the deputation of deities, who went to Viṣṇu and found him sleeping on the serpent Ananta. The bird Garuḍa is

1 *ISC.*, p. 106.

2 *Le Cambodge*, t. III, pp. 516 ff.

3 *Le temple d'Angkor Vat*, Première partie—*L'architecture du monument*, 1, Mémoires Archéologiques publiés par L'Ecole Française d'Extrême-orient, t. II, Paris 1929, Introduction, p. 8.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

seen offering a blue lotus to Viṣṇu. According to some scholars, the seated figures on the right flank of the panel¹ represent God Brahmā and others, who went to request him to be incarnated in Rāma. Dr. Vogel² thinks that the scene described is similar to that described in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*. We then notice Viśvāmitra, who comes to pay a visit to king Daśaratha. In the pleasure-garden we find him along with the chief queen, four sons and his daughter³. Dr. Stutterheim says that a daughter of Daśaratha is known from *Hikāiats*; in fact, Kakuyā is known from Candrāvati's Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*. But these are much later works. We do not know if any story of India, dated before the 9th century A. D., mentions a daughter of Daśaratha. Sītā is no doubt represented in many versions as Daśaratha's daughter, but if that were so in this case, there would have been no necessity for the archery-contest in the Prāmbānān-relief. Daśaratha, however, welcomes the ascetic.⁴ The next scene presents Rāma killing the Tāḍakā-rākṣasī.⁵ All of them then arrive at the cloister of Viśvāmitra and, while Rāma defeats the demons, the hermits offer him their homage. As a matter of fact, we find Mārīca driven into the sea and the other is killed.⁶ The next scene introduces to us Viśvāmitra, Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma and king Janaka. Urged by Viśvāmitra, Rāma bends the powerful bow and obtains Sītā.⁷ After the marriage, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā depart for home and they meet Paraśurāma on the way. The latter challenges Rāma to bend his bow and measures strength

1 J. Kats, *Het Ramayana op Javaansche tempel reliefs*, pl. I.

2 Vide *Bijdragen T. L. T'K.*, 1921, dl. 77, pp. 202 ff.

3 It has to be noted that in the group of the royal family, she alone is without *mukūṭa*. Cf. J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. II; also Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 143.

4 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. III.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. IV.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. V.

7 *Ibid.*, pl. VI.

with him.¹ In the next scene, we find Paraśurāma has been defeated.² In the Musée khmer at Phnom pen³ are preserved some paintings of episodes from the Cambodian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and they include the discovery of Sītā by Janaka, Rāma's breaking the bow of Śiva and encounter with Paraśurāma after the marriage-ceremony. In the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, we find in the centre of a panel a young man who is aiming his bow at a target. In this representation of the Khmer artists, we find a bird-target behind a rotating wheel. In front of the knight with the powerful bow, we find a gorgeously dressed lady. We find also near-by a Brāhmaṇa, whose twisted hair is projected behind. Though the scene would strongly remind one of the *svayaṃvara* of Draupadī, scholars are generally inclined to take it as the bow-contest at the court of king Janaka.⁴

At Prāmbānān, the artists next describe the question of succession. Daśaratha has decided to nominate Rāma as his successor, but Kaikeyī demands the banishment of the eldest son. She wants the sceptre to pass to Bharata.⁵ And thus, in the following scene we find Bharata to the throne. In the midst of joys and festivities, the excellent pose of a dancing girl arrests our attention.⁶ This is in sharp contrast with the following scene,⁷ which vividly presents the sorrows of Kauśalyā and Daśaratha after the decision was arrived at. We soon find Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa leaving the capital.⁸ Meanwhile, Daśaratha dies and preparations go a-pace for burning his body. Kauśalyā and Bharata are seen busy in giving presents to the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ In the following relief, we find Bharata

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. VIII.

3 *BEFEO.*, t. XIII, no. 3, pp. 47-50.

4 *Cf. Rām.*, 1, 67; also *BCAI*, 1911-'12, p. 187, pl. XIII.

5 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. X.

7 *Ibid.*, pl. XI.

8 *Ibid.*, pl. XII.

9 *Ibid.*, pl. XIII.

requesting the exiled Rāma to be king again. The scene takes place in the woods. Rāma refuses to return to the capital, but he gives his younger brother his sandals, which would represent Rāma on the vacant throne.¹ In the first part of the next relief, we find that the banished trio are proceeding through the woods. At this stage, Sītā was lifted by the ogre Virādha, but she was rescued after strenuous effort.² This scene has also been represented at Angkor Vat. The artist has depicted a forest, in the midst of which we find a rākṣasa bearing a lady on the left arm. The ogre is contending against two archers, who are, according to M. Coedès,³ no other than Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. But the French scholar thinks that the sculptors have not reproduced the scene with much fidelity. The artists of Prāmbānān depict hereafter some scenes, which do not occur at Angkor Vat. Because, the next scene which is described at Prāmbānān is the well-known episode of Rāma, Sītā, and the crow. We find here that Sītā has hung some venison to dry on the branches of a tree. When Sītā tries to scare away a crow stealing the venison, the bird attacks her and she flees to Rāma. Rāma shoots the *Brahmāśtra* which follows the bird everywhere. The crow submits at last but as the discharged arrow cannot go in vain, the crow allows Rāma to strike out one of its eyes. The head of the bird has broken off.⁴ We are next introduced to Śūrpaṇakhā, who, transforming herself into a lovely woman, is trying to entice Rāma.⁵ In the following scene we find that she has already been sent to Lakṣmaṇa, who also does not like her.⁶ Then occurs the episode of the golden deer, which occurs both at Prāmbānān as well as Angkor

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. XV.

3 *BCAI.*, 1911-1912, p. 188, pl. XIV, No. B. 219.

4 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

Vat. In the former temple, we find that while Rāma pursues the golden hart, Sītā is guarded by Lakṣmaṇa.¹ Rāma then shoots the enchanted animal, and the rākṣasa Mārīca, coming out of the stricken deer, imitates the voice of Rāma. Sītā hears this.² Immediately after this we find the demon Rāvaṇa, who appears in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa and carries off Sītā. Rice-pot and fly-whisks are also noticeable.³ The Old-Javanese sculptors have then presented the duel of Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyu, who is worsted in the fight. While Sītā is being carried off again, she gives a ring to Jaṭāyu.⁴ And the dying⁵ Jaṭāyu gives the ring to Rāma. The next scene has been based upon the episode of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Kavandha, and this occurs both at Prāmbānān⁶ as well as at Angkor Vat.⁷ The sculptors of the former temple have presented Kavandha in a curious way; because, in addition to the usual head over the neck, we find here one placed on the stomach. In this respect, the artists of Angkor Vat were more faithful. At Prāmbānān, we find the celestial being who is now released from the body of the hideous monster. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa then proceed further through the forest and come across a crocodile, who was a cursed nymph.⁸

In the first part of the following scene at Prāmbānān, we notice the meeting of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Hanumān, who then disperse.⁹ The Prāmbānān temple, however, depicts a very curious episode which is not known in any other bas-relief. We find here Lakṣmaṇa who is catching water in a bamboo-jug. This tastes bitter to Rāma, and he finds it to be the tears of Sugrīva, whom he now promises

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX

2 *Ibid.*, pl. XX; *cf.* *Rām.*, III, 44.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.

5 In the relief, the bird is as sprightly as ever; *cf.* *Ibid* pl. XXIII.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV.

7 *BCAI.*, *op. cit.*, p. 188, pl. XIV, No. B. 213.

8 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV.

9 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.

help.¹ At Angkor Vat, the later phase of the story has been laid on a mountain. In the centre, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are sitting, while Sugrīva, with a *mukūṭa* or royal diadem on the crown, converses with them. M. Coedès thinks² that Sugrīva is swearing fidelity by placing his hand on the bosom. There is an additional scene at Prāmbānān, which does not occur at Ba Puon and Angkor Vat. It is the representation of Rāma, who is giving a proof of his power to the doubtful Sugrīva by shooting an arrow through the stems of seven *tāl*-trees.³ The duel of Sugrīva and Vālin are common to reliefs of the above three temples. But the Prāmbānān reliefs contain an additional episode, which we do not find at Angkor Vat and Ba Puon. In the first temple, we find that Rāma does not first help Sugrīva; because his appearance could not be distinguished from that of Vālin.⁴ In consequence, Sugrīva is defeated by Vālin. On the advice of Rāma, he now puts on a wreath of leaves round his neck, and this time Vālin is killed by an arrow of Rāma.⁵ The death of Vālin is implied at Ba Puon; this is explicitly portrayed in a minor relief at Angkor Vat.⁶ We do not find the wreath of leaves in the representation of the Khmer artists.⁷ Thus Sugrīva becomes king again and regains his wife; the monkeys are seen making festivities.⁸ Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva then hold a Council of War.⁹ Sugrīva suggests to the princes that leaders of the monkey-hosts, who now sit behind him, should go out in search of Sitā. The queens of monkeys are represented here (Prāmbānān) in human form; the artists have also introduced a

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII

2 *BCAI.*, *op. cit.*, p. 189, pl. XV, No. B. 216.

3 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX.

6 Cf. *BCAI.*, *op. cit.*, p. 190, pl. XVI; *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 157, 1 (pl. XIV).

7 This remark is subject to correction; because, we have to rely on plates. And sometimes the informations of M. Finot and M. Coedès are not sufficient for our purpose.

8 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI.

9 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXII—XXXIII.

comic scene in the palace of the monkeys to fill up space.¹ These scenes do not occur in the reliefs of the Angkor Vat and the Ba Puon group of temples.

We are then introduced to the *Aśoka*-forest by the sculptors of Prāmbānān, Ba Puon and Angkor Vat. In the bas-relief of the first temple, we find that a female slave is drawing the attention of Sītā and Trijaṭā to the monkey-hero Hanumān, who was concealed in a thicket.² Shortly afterwards we find Hanumān conversing with the daughter of Janaka.³ From the descriptions of Dr. Stutterheim,⁴ it is not clear if Hanumān had any insignia of Rāma in his hands. The meeting of Sītā and Hanumān has also been represented in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat. The interpretation of the scene by Moura⁵ and Aymonier⁶ was not happy. According to M. Coedès,⁷ the monkeys of Moura are, in fact, hideous rākṣasīs. In the centre we find Sītā conversing with a little monkey who is doubtless Hanumān. M. Coedès thinks⁸ that the other human figure is that of Saramā, the virtuous wife of Vikhīṣaṇa. Among the bas-reliefs of Ba Puon,⁹ we also find Sītā in the garden of *Aśoka* under the strict vigilance of rākṣasīs. At her right side, we find Hanumān, who holds in his hand the Cuḍāmaṇi. The insignia has also been depicted by the sculptors of Angkor Vat.

At Prāmbānān, the episode of the interview of Sītā and Hanumān is followed by the capture of the latter by rākṣasas. The rākṣasas are busy dressing rags round the tail of Hanumān.¹⁰ When fire is set to these rags drenched

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI.

4 *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 171. The plates are not sufficiently clear on this point.

5 *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, t. II, pp. 319-320.

6 *Le Cambodge*, t. III, p. 240.

7 *BCAI.*, 1911-'12, p. 190, pl. XVII, No. B. 223.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

9 *BCAI.*, 1910, p. 157, II (pl. XV).

10 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII.

in oil, Hanumān jumps up and flies over roofs of houses like a "living torch".¹ After burning Laṅkā, the monkey-hero narrates his experiences to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sugrīva.² Rāma is angry with Varuṇa, God of the sea; because the latter did not devise any means for his crossing of the sea. The frightened sea-god asks him to build a bridge.³ Lakṣmaṇa, Rāma and Sugrīva follow the monkeys, who throw blocks of stone into the sea. Though aquatic animals try to prevent this, the bridge is ready soon. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and the monkey-horde now pass over to Laṅkā. At Angkor Vat, we find Rāma and his allies according reception to Bibhiṣaṇa who had left the side of his brother.⁴ Excepting this scene, all the other major episodes, viz., Hanumān hiding himself in Rāvaṇa's garden, the interview of Sītā and Hanumān, the burning of Laṅkā by the fire of Hanumān's tail, his report to Rāma, the construction of the bridge, have been more elaborately described in the reliefs of Panataran.⁵ It appears that Hanumān's burning of Laṅkā, the destruction of pleasure-gardens and the fight of Hanumān with the rākṣasas were the most appealing themes to the Panataran artists.

Now begins the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is common to the reliefs of Ba Puon, Angkor Vat and Panataran. We find, for example, in a relief at Ba Puon Rāvaṇa in a chariot discharging a couple of arrows at Rāma. Rāma is borne by Hanumān, on whose neck he puts one foot and the other, on his tail. Hanumān also takes part in the combat and injures the human-headed

1 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII. 2 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. XL.

4 *BUAI.*, 1911-'12, p. 191, pl. XV, No. B. 222.

5 J. Kats, *op. cit.*, Nos. 94-106, 1-64; cf. Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, Plates-Volume, Nos. 105-181; Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, etc., *De wolken-tooneelen van Panataran*, 1909, pp. 16-26, plates 24-27 (Nos. 94-106), 1-19 (Nos. 1-76).

horse harnessed to the chariot of Rāvaṇa. According to M. Finot,¹ the duel is an echo from the 59th *sarga* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V. 122ff.). The fight of Rāvaṇa with Hanumān and Nīla has also been described.² The duel of Sugrīva and Vajradanṣṭra, Rāma fighting from a chariot (which never occurs in the Sanskrit epic) with a rākṣasa-chief,³ the various duels of Sugrīva and Kumbhakarṇa (Rām., 67, V. 50ff.), Sugrīva and Mahodara (Rām., 98), Rāma and Kumbhakarṇa (Rām., 67, V. 142ff), Rāma and Makarākṣa (Rām., 79)—all these have been described. The swords, lances, branches of trees, shields and the numbers of warriors have made the scenes extremely clumsy. The same clumsiness also continues in the *Rāmāyaṇa* bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat. According to M. Coedès,⁴ the fights of Mahodara, son of Pulastya, and Aṅgada can be certainly verified from the details supplied by the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* and the relief in question. He thinks that the monkey who gives the *coup de grâce* to the rākṣasa Mahodara is the mighty Nīla⁵ Here also we notice the duels between Nīla and Prahastā⁶, Hanumān and Nikumbha⁷, Sugrīva and Kumbhakarṇa⁸—some of which we have already noticed in the reliefs of Ba Puon. In the Panataran reliefs, the story of the Yuddhakāṇḍa is not as monotonous as that of the Khmer artists. According to Dr. Brandes, duel between persons of equal size is a characteristic trait of relevant Panataran reliefs.

The Ba Puon sculptors have also carved the scene of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound down by the *Nāgapāśa*-weapon. We find the great bird Garuḍa, on whose approach the

1 *B.C.A.I.*, 1910, p. 158, III (pl. XVI).

2 *Ibid.*

3 This is a plausible suggestion of M. Finot.

4 *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-1912, p. 188, pl. X, Nos. 12, 14.

5 *Rām.*, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 70, 2.

6 *Rām.*, *Yuddha.*, 58, 42; cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, p. 184.

7 *Rām.*, *Yuddha.*, 77; cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, p. 184.

8 *Rām.*, *Yuddha.*, 70, 31; cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, p. 184, pl. XI,

snakes sneak away quickly.¹ The fight of Rāma and Rāvaṇa is described at Ba Puon as well as at Angkor Vat. The disconcerting agility of the monkey-hero Nila has been beautifully portrayed in the bas-relief of the latter temple.² The scene at Angkor Vat, which has been supposed to refer to the fire-ordeal of Sītā, has unhappily been mutilated. According to M. Coedès, it represents not the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Daśaratha, but the trial of Sītā, and he thinks he has been able to identify the figures of Vibhīṣaṇa, Sugrīva and Hanumān from the relief. The shooting tongues of fire, at any rate, cannot be misunderstood.³ Though M. Finot has sought to ascribe a particular relief at Ba Puon to this episode, M. Coedès thinks it doubtful.⁴ The *puṣpaka* car, which was the vehicle of Kuvera, now leads the victorious party back to Ayodhyā. It is drawn by *haṁsas* or swans, and the decorative *motifs* are excellent. The scene is preserved both at Ba Puon as well as at Angkor Vat.

Among the detached fragments that have been recovered from the neighbourhood of Prāmbānān, the notable episodes are: march of the monkey army in Laṅkā, fight of Kumbhakarna and the monkeys and the body of Rāvaṇa on the funeral pyre.⁵ Many pieces have not been satisfactorily identified.

It will appear from the above description that points of agreement among these bas-reliefs are not many. Many episodes, regarded as important in the work of Vālmiki, have been omitted in places and some original legends have been added. It is also noteworthy that while the

1 *Rām., Yuddha.*, 45, 46, 50; cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1910, p. 159, IV (pl. XVII). Nos. 5, 4, 3.

2 *Rām., Yuddha.*, 49, 77ff; cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, pp. 184-185.

3 cf. *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, p. 191, pl. XVIII, No. B. 220.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, Plates Volume, Nos 66, 74-76, 77.

reliefs of Angkor Vat and Ba puon describe the very last phases of Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, those of Prāmbānān and Panataran stop much earlier. They agree, however, on one point—none of them describes any scene from the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. As a matter of fact, Javanese sculptors have described the earlier portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as elaborately as the Khmer artists the later phases. It appears that the artists of Cambodia used a recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which was akin to the work of Vālmiki. The reliefs of Prāmbānān, however, contain some scenes which find explanation from Malay narratives of the subject. In this respect, the Panataran group stands closer to the Old-Javanese kakawin of Yogīśvara, which has many points of agreement with the work of Vālmiki. It is clear, therefore, that there were several streams of traditions in Java, Campā and Cambodia. From which regions these came, how they intermingled with each other and separated, taking along some traces and leaving others behind—cannot be determined at this distance of time.

CHAPTER X

ITIHĀSA OR EPIC WORKS, *Contd.*

THE RĀMĀYANA-CYCLE OF STORIES IN KAWI

There are some *Kawi*-works and many wayang stories, which have been based upon, or inspired by the legends of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is not easy to determine, however, which particular recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was the sure source of the writers, who composed beautiful kakawins like the *Sumanasāntaka*, the *Arjunaviṇaya* and the *Hariśraya*. From the literary as well as historical point of view, the first mentioned kakawin is a most interesting work, because, it has not only been handled exquisitely in Indian *Chandaḥs*, but also because its material seems to be directly derived from Sanskrit literature. Let us begin our study with the *Sumanasāntaka*, the title of which has been explained as *Sumanasā*, (*i. e.* by flower) 'antaka' (*i. e.* death) *i. e.* death by flower. It offers an elaborate account of the love-affair of Aja and Indumatī, the hero and the heroine of this poem. The young heroine is no other than the mother of Daśaratha and grand-mother of Rāma, and her life-history forms one of the most fascinating chapters of Sanskrit literature. But before we take up the subject proper, it is necessary to discuss some problems connected with this important *Kawi*-work.

The book bears some striking similarity with the famous *Raghuvaṃśam* of Kālidāsa. Dr. Juynboll¹ supposed therefore that this kakawin is based upon the work of Kālidāsa. As the main outline of this story occurs in other Sanskrit works as well, it is necessary to examine the point in some detail. The first question that faces us is: Was any work of Kālidāsa known in Java? Among the works extant in Java and Bali, we do not find any direct evidence to settle the point. The best work of Kālidāsa, *viz.*, the *Abhijñānaśakun-*

1 *Bijdragen T. L. V.*, 6th Series, VI, pp. 391ff.

talam was not known at all, though the story of Śakuntalā makes its appearance in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva. Dr. Juynboll himself thinks that the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit was doubtful; because, he has used the word *Sumanas* not as a synonym for flower, but as the name of a flower. There are, however, some slight indications in the inscriptions and sculptures of Greater India pointing to the possibility of the existence of some work or tradition akin to that handled in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*. We have already seen that the first relief of Prāmbānān, according to Dr. Vogel, remarkably agrees with relevant passages of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*. Then again, the episode of Dilīpa and his Nandinī cow, which has been artistically handled by Kālidāsa, has been referred to in an inscription of Cambodia¹. As possibilities and impossibilities are equally matched at the present moment, we shall try to evaluate the internal evidences of the three works, viz., the *Sumanasāntaka*, the *Raghuvamśam* and the *Padmapurāṇam*, all of which have described the same story. Our survey will be limited to the study of differences.

The *Sumanasāntaka* kakawin differs from both the Sanskrit works on some important points. The *Raghuvamśa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*² versions of the story present the episode of Hariṇī and Tṛṇavindu towards the closing portion of the main story. In the kakawin, this episode has been used as an introduction to the main frame-work of the story. The *Sumanasāntaka kidung*, however, though a later work than the kakawin, has placed that episode towards the close.³ In the *Raghuvamśam* and the *Padmapurāṇam* again, the name of the father of the Gandharva-prince is

1 I.S.O.C., p. 398; Kālidāsa himself says in the *Raghuvamśam* (VI, 57):—

“Anena sārdaṃ vihar-āmburāśe = stīreṣu tālīvana-marmareṣu
Dvīpāntar = ānītalavaṅga-puṣpai = rapākṛta-svedalarā maruṭbhīḥ.”

This is probab'ly a direct allusion to the Spice Islands.

2 *Padmapurāṇam*, pātālakhaṇḍa.

3 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 228.

Priyadarśana; in the *Sumanasāntaka* his name appears a Citraratha. Further, the name of sage Mataṅga, which occurs in both the Sanskrit works, has been changed into Pataṅga in the Old-Javanese work. Then again, the charmed missile, which was given by the grateful Gandharva prince to Aja, is called 'Prasvāpana' in the *Padmapurāṇam*, 'Sammohana' in the *Raghuvaṃśam*, and 'Vimohana' in the *Sumanasāntaka*. As these points record noticeable deviations, we cannot definitely accept any work as the sure source of the *Kawi*-work. It seems probable, however, that there were different recensions of this story in India as well as in Indonesia. In addition to the above evidences, which seem to distinguish one work from the other, we have the testimony of Hemādri,¹ a good interpreter of Kālidāsa, to the effect that the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* formed the main source of the *Raghuvaṃśam* from cantos 9 to 15, while the remaining portions were based on "other traditions". We cannot say if these "other sources" were utilised by Mpu Monaguna, the writer of the *Sumanasāntaka*,² who, according to Dr. Juynboll, knew no Sanskrit.

The date of the work presents some difficulties. In the last song of the *Sumanasāntaka*, the poet speaks of one Śrī Varṣajaya. We shall have to see if he was a king at all and, if so, where he ruled. In the sixty-third canto of the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*, the poet refers to one king Varṣajaya. From inscriptions we do not get any information of any Varṣajaya, but there is a record of king Śrī Jayavarṣa Digjaya Sāstraprabhu, dated 1104 A.D. From the find-place of the inscription it appears that he was the ruler of a part of Kediri⁴. The transposition of the name throws some difficulty in the way of identification. But the

1 In his annotation of the sixteenth canto.

2 His name occurs in canto XXI, verse 3.

3 Canto 183.

4 O.J.O., LXVI; N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, pp. 284-285; *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVII, pp. 515-516.

identification seems to receive some support from the *Wawatekan*, which gives 1098 A.D. as the date of its authorship. So, three points stand out clearly: (a) the author speaks of a Varṣajaya; (b) a Jayavarṣa is known to rule in 1104 A.D. and (c) the *Wawatekan* reference gives 1098 A.D. We can, therefore, assume tentatively—as there is no evidence to the contrary—that the work was composed in the reign of Jayavarṣa, say c. 1104 A.D. It is possible that the discovery of some inscriptions in future may push back the reign of Jayavarṣa to 1098 A.D. and thus confirm the date furnished by the *Wawatekan*. If our arguments for the date of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* be accepted, he would be a contemporary of Yogiśvara.

The book runs into 180 cantos and has been exquisitely handled in various Sanskrit *Chandaḥs*. The story of this book¹ is as follows:—

Hariṇī, a celestial nymph, was sent down by Indra to seduce the Brāhmaṇa Tṛṇayindu², who was undergoing austere penances on the earth. In Sanskrit as well as in Javanese-Balinese literature, the task of alluring ascetics has frequently devolved on Rambhā, Tilottamā, Urvaśī, Suprabhā and other celestial courtesans. The astute Brāhmaṇa, however, being a seer himself, clearly saw through her plans and cursed³ her that she would be born as a daughter of Krathakeśika, the king of Vidarbha. The only redeeming feature was that after the birth of a child to her, she would be killed by the throw of a flower, and then bid adieu to the mortal world. Apart from the incident of the flower,

1 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 6th Series VI, pp. 391 ff; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 144-146; Dr. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, III, p. 324; *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali* in *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XXII, no. 4, p. 19

2 Dr. J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari, etc.*, Archaeologisch onderzoek op Java en Madura, II. Plates 79 and 80 give reproductions of some statues of this Indian sage. They were discovered from Singasari and are now in the Museum Batavia.

3 Canto VII.

there are many stories in Sanskrit which represent nymphs shuffling off their mortal coil after the birth of a child.¹ So, the nymph Hariṇī was born as Indumatī,² who was destined for Aja, the hero of the poem. The princess grew up in alluring splendour and beauty and became of marriageable age. Bhoja, who succeeded his father on the throne, announced a *svayaṃvara*³ for her marriage. The 21st *sarga* of the *Sumanasāntaka* corresponds to the *Aja-svayaṃvarābhigamanaḥ* of the *Raghuvamśam*, i.e. the fifth canto. The 27th *sarga* of the Javanese work betrays some Wayang influence.

On his way to Vidarbha, Aja sportingly killed an elephant and it turned out to be an incarnation of Gandharva Priyamvada, son of Citraratha. The Gandharva prince stated that he was turned into that condition as the result of a curse of the sage Pataṅga. As Aja relieved him of his animal-figure, the grateful Priyamvada gave him some charms and the missile called 'Vimohana' (i.e., Vimohanāstra) i.e., the enchanting weapon.⁴ Aja received the celestial weapon and proceeded to take part in the *svayaṃvara*. Besides Aja, there were many other kings who had come to win the hand of Indumatī, and among them we find the sovereigns of Magadha, Aṅga, Avantī, Anūpa⁵ and Suśena⁶. The choice of Indumatī fell on Aja, and the poet describes this in the 109th canto of his work. It corresponds to the sixth *sarga* of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*. After the *svayaṃvara* was over, while Aja was turning towards his capital with the newly-wedded bride, the disappointed lovers attacked him. The Vimohanāstra given by the Gandharva-prince stood him in good stead and he easily defeated his enemies.⁷ From the 109th *sarga* to the 161st, the story of Monaguṇa agrees

1 Cf. Kālidāsa, *Vikramorvaśī*, also Somadeva, *Kathā-Saritsāgara*, Tawney's translation, Vol. I, 1880, p. 37 etc.

2 Canto X.

3 Canto XVI.

4 Canto XXXII.

5 Canto XLIV.

6 Canto XLV.

7 Canto CLIII.

on essential points with its Indian counterpart. After the death of Raghu,¹ the father of Aja, the crown-prince was consecrated to the throne and the august ceremony on that occasion is described in the 161st canto of the *Sumana-sāntaka*. The story then recounts the birth of Daśaratha,² which was destined to fulfil the curse of the ascetic, whom Indumatī had tried to beguile in her former life. Eight years after the birth of her child,³ while Aja and Indumatī were passing their time in a pleasure-garden, the ṛṣi Nārada was going to keep an engagement along with his musical instruments. To one end of it was attached a chaplet of flowers, which was thrown against the breast of Indumatī by the Divine musician, and it instantly caused her death.⁴ In the work of Kālidāsa, the frivolous wind has also a share in the guilt. When Daśaratha grew up and ascended the throne,⁵ Aja went to the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and died there.⁶ Then at last he was united with Indumatī or Hariṇī in the pleasure-garden of Nandana.⁷ The book ends with the following corrupt Sanskrit verses: "Om Gaṇapatayai namaḥ, om Sarasvatyai namaḥ, om sarvadevebhyā namaḥ svaha, om dirghāyur astu tat astu subham om vijayanti."

The kakawin *Hariśraya*, according to Dr. Friederich, is based upon the Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa. Cod.* 3888 (2) of this work may be described in the following manner:—

It is stated in the beginning of the work how the gods were threatened by Mālyavān, the king of Lengka (Laṅkā) and his brothers, viz., Mali and Sumāli. They took counsel from the learned Bṛhaspati and the latter advised Indra to lead their deputation to Śiva, who, he hoped,

1 Canto CLXI.

2 Canto CLXII.

3 Cantos X and CLXVIII.

4 *Raghuvamśam*, canto VIII, verses 33-36; cf. *Sumanasāntaka*, canto CLXVIII, verses 6-7.

5 Canto CLXXV.

6 Canto CLXXXVI.

7 Canto CLXXXIV.

would find out a way for them. And so, in the VIth canto we find the deputation waiting on Lord Śiva, who advised them to go to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu gladly consented and a war was declared against the rākṣasas. According to Dr. Juynboll, many of these rākṣasa's names have been borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹ Thus we find that in canto XI, verse 4, occur the names of Bajramuṣṭi and Virūpākṣa—names, which also occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, cantos XIX, 8-9 and XX, 29-34. Among other names, we find Dhūmrākṣa, Praghasa, Ākampana, etc. Viṣṇu was finally able to kill Mali² and Mālyavān,³ whereupon Sumālī fled to Lengka and thence to the Nether world.⁴ The gods who had fallen on the battlefield were revived by Viṣṇu, who sprinkled *amṛta* over their mangled bodies. After his duties were over, he again returned to heaven.⁵

There are some other recensions of this work ; but they differ more in form than in contents. Cod. 4235 of this work contains 54 cantos. If it is based upon the *Uttarakāṇḍa*, it cannot be older than the 13th century A. D., which we provisionally accept as the date of the Old-Javanese prose-work, viz., the *Uttarakāṇḍa*.

The book *Arjunaviṇaya*, according to Friederich, is partly based upon the Old-Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa*. It describes how Arjuna Sahasravāhu defeated Rāvaṇa, the king of Laṅkā. He could not, however, kill him ; because, it was settled by Providence that he would be killed by Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This episode has also been described in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*.⁶ Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna and Śūrpaṇakhā, whose birth has been described in the 1st canto of this kakawin, are prominent figures of the *Rāmāyaṇas*.

The *Arjunaviṇaya* betrays some Buddhistic influences.

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 151. Apparently he means the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2 Canto XVIII, 7.

3 Canto XIX, 7.

4 Canto XIX, 9.

5 Canto XX, 4.

6 Part IV, Chap. XI.

The author of this book, Mpu Tantular, who flourished in the reign of Hayam Wuruk, was a member of the Northern Church. Dr. Krom¹ says that the *Arjunavijaya* was composed later than the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365 A. D.). This appears quite plausible from the following considerations. We find in the *Arjunavijaya* that the poet's patron is Raṇamaṅgala, son of the king's half-brother and son-in-law of the king's youngest sister. This princess was not married at the time of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. We can, therefore, accept c. 1378 A.D. as the date of its composition. The *Wawatekan* codifier has thus given us a very wrong date, viz., 1031 Śāka.

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.*, dl LVII, p. 520.

CHAPTER XI

ITIHASA OR EPIC WORKS, *Contd.*

THE MAHABHARATA

I

The Javanese *Mahābhārata*, though voluminous, is less bulky than the Indian one. A large number of *ḥawi*-works, e. g., the *Indravijaya*, *Bhīmasvarga*, *Arjunavivāha*, *Pārthayajña*, *Gaṭotkacāśraya*, *Harivijaya*, *Bhāratayuddha*, *Kṛṣṇāyana* and some other works of this category have been inspired by this Great Epic of India. It exerted such a tremendous influence on contemporary and subsequent literature that very few have escaped making direct or indirect allusions to the stories of the *Mahābhārata*. As in India, so also in Java and Bali, this book has served as a beacon-light to the religious-minded people ; it has offered romantic themes to the *ḥawi*-writers and above all, along with the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, it has laid the real foundation of the Indo-Javanese literature. To this great work of antiquity, therefore, we should now turn our attention.

There are several recensions of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*, discovered by Van Eck, Van der Tuuk, Dr. Kern and others from different parts of Bali, Java and Lombok. As there is no striking dis-similarity among these works, we may regard them, for all practical purposes, as one recension. After a few books of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata* were discovered, some Dutch scholars, who were interested in the subject, launched a systematic research work on this topic. In 1849, Dr. Friederich published his '*Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*,' in which he cursorily noticed some books of the Old-Javanese recension. From that year up to 1877, no serious work was undertaken by any Dutch scholar on this interesting subject ; but in the latter year appeared Prof. Kern's '*Over de*

Oudjavaansche vertaling van het Mahābhārata in which he not only translated some parts of the *Pośyacarita*, but also discussed the character, date and form of the Old-Javanese translation.¹ In 1893, came the important work of Dr. H. H. Juynboll, '*Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata in kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanscrit tekst*'. In this work, he offered not only a Dutch translation of the 15th, 16th and 17th books of the *Mahābhārata*, but also discussed their forms, grammar and general characteristics. This has ushered in a period of sound research work on the interrelation of the Javanese and Sanskrit recensions of the Indian *Mahābhārata*.

The *Mahābhārata* is divided into 18 books, and, in the island of Bali, it goes by the name of *Aṣṭādaśaparva*. Even in some corrupted lists furnished by Old-Javanese works, the orthodox number has been maintained. Cod. 4367, for example, offers the names of Śrama (Āśrama), Santika, Bujaṅga, Udyoga, Svargarohanaparva, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa, Salya, Karṇaparva, Prastaning, Asvatama, Stri, Moksala, Gada, Virāṭparva, Ādiparva and Gadaviraparva²! There is a different list in the Old-Javanese work called *Koravāśrama*. Again, in an introduction to the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, composed in *Vasantatilaka chandaḥ*, the names of the 18 books of the *Mahābhārata* have been clearly enumerated. They are Ādi, Sabhā, Vana, Virāṭa, Udyoga, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Śalya, Gadā, Sautika, Strī, Sānti, Āśvamedhika, Āśramavāsika, Mausala, Mahāprasthānika and the Svargārohanika. Besides this, there are two other lists in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, but they, it should be noted, furnish the names of 17 books only. The importance of the first list given in *Vasantatilaka* measure is further countenanced by the frequent use of '*Aṣṭādaśaparva*' in

1 *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, p. 217 ff.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II.

3 Juynboll, *Adiparva*, 1906, p. I.

different parts of the work, and this seems to suggest the original classification of the *Mahābhārata*.¹ From the first list, it appears that there was no room for the *Anuśāsanaparva* or at any rate, that it was merged in the *Śāntiparva*. The actual number of books is hopelessly discrepant in India—the South-Indian text having as many as 24 parvans. We like to observe, therefore, that the list coming from an unprejudiced quarter beyond the seas, must have some intrinsic value of its own. It is quite probable that the arrangement of books we obtain from the *Vasantatilaka Chandaḥ* was the basis of the original classification, which has been spoilt at different literary centres of India at a subsequent period.

Prof. Kern is of opinion that the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa*, *Udyoga* and the *Bhīṣmaparva* of the Old-Javanese recension must have been composed before the 13th century A. D. Dr. Juynboll supposed some of these books to have been written in the reign of Airlangga, who flourished towards the beginning of the 11th century A. D. According to Dr. Hazeu, the *Ādiparva* of the Old-Javanese recension was composed in the middle of the 10th century A. D., and, conjointly with the *Bhāratamañjarī* of Kṣemendra, was based upon one common original, which must have existed in North-western India before the 10th century A. D. Some of these books have referred to Śrī Dharmmavaṃśa teguh Anantavikramottuṅgadeva, and it appears, that, by his orders the prose-translations of the *Ādi*, *Virāṭa* and the *Bhīṣmaparva* were effected by some unknown author. The combined testimony of the Javanese and the Balinese records and the *Śivaśāsana*² indicate that he was ruling towards the close of the 10th century. A. D. Though the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva* mentions his son-in-law

1 Juynboll, *Adiparwa*, 1906, pp. 2, 3; Vide also, *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. T. K.*, 1901, p. 304; also, Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, p. 219 ff.

2 Subject to some problems, which have been discussed by Prof. N. J. Krom. Vide, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, pp. 223-224.

Airlangga, it has been suggested by Dr. Krom that the patron in question was no other than Anantavikrama, the predecessor of king Airlangga.¹ The Old-Javanese *Virāṭa-parva* was probably composed about 996 A. D., as has been suggested by one of its statements.² Similar is the case with the Old-Javanese recension of the *Bhīṣmaparva*, which, too, was undertaken during the reign of this liberal king. One MS. of this book mentions him with the title, 'king of Meḍang,'³ and, apparently, he is identical with the one referred to in the *Śivaśāsana*. Anantavikrama, king of East Java, i.e., king of Meḍang, should, therefore, be regarded as the patron of three important epic works. In this respect, he is an exact prototype of the Bengal king Husein Shah (1494-1525 A. D.), who patronised with a catholic spirit the translation of the Sanskrit epics into the Bengali language.⁴ About the *Udyogaparva*, we cannot furnish a precise date, though it appears probable that king Airlangga maintained the liberal tradition of his great father-in-law and had this book composed during his reign. We can tentatively assume the hypothesis of Dr. Juynboll that this book was composed in the beginning of the 11th century A. D.

Of these four parvas, the *Ādiparva* and the *Virāṭaparva* formed the main source of the wayang-purwa stories, while the *Udyogaparva* and the *Bhīṣmaparva* supplied materials for the first part of the *Bhāratayuddha*, an independent *kāwi*-work on the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The story of the Churning of the Milk-Sea, which occurs both in the Sanskrit as well as in Javanese *Ādiparva*, has been accepted in a large part of Greater India as a rich legacy from Hindu culture. The theme has been requisitioned by a large number of *Kāwi*-writers, but

1 Juynboll, *Virāṭaparva*, p. 8.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

3 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, p. 225, footnote.

4 D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, particularly pp. 11-14, 202-205, 222.

of them we shall speak more fully later on. Dr. Hazen says¹ that the Old-Javanese work can very distantly be connected with, or related to, the South Indian and the Bombay recensions, while there are many points of resemblance between the Old-Javanese Ādiparva and texts in the Bhāratamañjarī of Kṣemendra. A perusal of his interesting paper would lead us to think that he is probably right.

Of the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, we have one Middle-Javanese recension in Tengahan metre, and one Balinese recension in Macapat metre. Some Mss. of the Ādiparva end with the formula, *Namo Buddhāya*.² A different Ms. closes the book with, 'Om namo Vagiśvaraye Mahāvagiśvaye, Om gmung Gaṇapataye namaḥ, om śrī Gurupadukebhyoḥ namaḥ'.³ They probably indicate the religion professed by the copyists, who were employed to re-write the worn-off lontar-records on newer materials, and, after their labour was finished, they added those colophons.

We shall now give a summary⁴ of the Old-Javanese prose-translation of the Sanskrit Ādiparvan.

^{ms} Cod. 3127 of this book opens with, "*Tatra vaṃśaṃ ahaṃ pūrvaṃ śrotuṃ icchanti (= icchāmi) Bhārgava*." So begins the history of Pauloma, to whom the Sanskrit Pauloma-parvan has been devoted. It states that on one occasion, while her husband Bhṛgu was away, she was assailed by a rākṣasa. She was ultimately saved by her son Cyavana, who fell from her limbs. Agni, who protected the rākṣasa, was cursed by Bhṛgu, and became Sarvabhakṣa, i.e., the

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XLIV, p. 289ff.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, Cod. 4006 (a).

3 *Ibid.*, Cod. 854.

4 Vide Juynboll, *Adiparwa*, 1906; Juynboll, *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata in Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanscrit tekst*, pp. 1-10; Hazen, *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, vol. XLIV, 1901, p. 289ff; Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. IX, p. 219 ff; Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, Cod. 3127.

devourer of all things. This is followed by the story of Ruru, the beloved of Pramathanā (Skt. Pramadvārā). As the latter was killed by snake-bite, Ruru re-animated her by contributing the half of his life to Pramathanā. Dr. Juynboll thinks¹ that there is a *hiatus* after the story of Ruru. Our Sanskrit text, however, goes forward to fill up the gap and states that Ruru killed all snakes that he came across till they dreaded him. The Javanese text once again begins with the history of Jaratkāru, which, as has been pointed out, occurs twice in the Sanskrit text (Śloka 1025-1068 ; 1813-1932). Dr. Juynboll is quite right in thinking that in the Old-Javanese translation, the latter portions of the story in the Sanskrit text have been followed ; because, the corrupt Sanskrit verse occurring in fol. a, 27, “*ko bhavantaḥ 'valamante wiraṇastambam āśritāḥ*” corresponds to śloka 1818 of the Calcutta recension. The Javanese text states that Jaratkāru led a celibate life, and the spirits of his forefathers admonished him to marry so that they could attain salvation with the birth of a child. Thereupon Jaratkāru married his namesake, the sister of Vāsuki, king of dragons. Later on, he left her. The son of this couple is Āstika, to whom the Āstikaparvan of the Sanskrit Ādi has been devoted. Fol. a, 32 begins the history of Kadrū and Vinatā. Kadrū is the mother of the Nāgas, Vinatā of Aruṇa and Garuḍa. Aruṇa cursed his mother ; because, she had opened the egg in her impatience and thus brought him into the world as a maimed one. Vinatā thus became the female-attendant of Kadrū, mother of the Nāgas. Fol. a, 34 relates the story of the Churning of the Milk-Sea, which yielded *Amṛta* or the nectar of life. The gods received *Amṛta* and became immortal. The demon Rāhu also wished to partake of this nectar, but Viṣṇu cut off his head which henceforward became the devourer of the Sun and the Moon. Fol. 37 states how Vinatā became the female-attendant of Kadrū, to whom she had lost a bet. As the Nāgas did not like to follow the advice of their

1 *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata*, etc., p. 5.

mother, Kadrū cursed them with the verse, “*Sarpasatre vartamāne pāvako va pradarśati*,” which, as Dr. Juynboll points out, corresponds to śloka 1196. Fol. 38 begins with the history of Garuḍa, who, as has been pointed out, also plays an important rôle in the Malay literature. It was destined at first, female attendant as his mother was, that he should protect the Nāgas ; but, it was afterwards settled, that when he would be able to bring in *Amṛta* for the Nāgas, the slavery of his mother would cease. This he faithfully carried out by overcoming the sentinel-gods. Viṣṇu, who was pleased with his prowess, made him his *vāhana* or carrier, and gave him the boon that snakes would form his principal victuals. This part of the Āstika-parva is known in the Sanskrit text as Sauparna-parvan. Fol. 48 describes how Nāga Seṣa was ordered to bear the burden of the whole world. Fol. 57, a, begins the story of the *Sarpasatra* or snake-sacrifice, which was performed by Janamejaya to avenge the death of his father Parikṣit, who was killed by Nāga Takṣaka. The frightened snake resorted to the shelter of Indra, who, however, could not offer any material aid to him. At length he was saved by Āstika, who first got permission to receive a boon from Janamejaya. The boon Āstika asked was to stop the snake-sacrifice, which, according to the king’s promise, was immediately stopped. Fol. 61 begins a new story, which runs parallel to the Sanskrit Ādivaṃśāvataran-parvan. It describes how the seed of Uparicara fell into the waters of the Yamunā and how a fish swallowed that and became the mother of two children, one of whom was Satyavatī, better known as Durgandhinī for the smell of her body. The sage Parāśara married her ; the nauseating scent being removed from her person, she now became known as Sayojanagandhinī. The fruit of their married-love was Vyāsa, the codifier of the *Mahābhārata* and hero of the Javanese Wayang story called *Abiasa*. Fol. 65, a, handles a new thème, which is known in the Sanskrit text as Sambhavan-parvan. It has been stated that after Paraśurāma extirpated the Kṣatriyas, gods and demons descended on the earth to incarnate in the heroes.

of the *Mahābhārata*. Thus, Bṛhaspati became Droṇa ; Anantabhoga—Aśvatthāman ; Dvāpara—Śakuni ; the Maruts—Drupada, Kṛtavarman, etc. ; Dharma—Yudhiṣṭhira ; Vāyu—Bhīma ; Soma—Abhimanyu ; Agni—Dhṛṣṭadyumna ; Vāsuki—Valadeva ; Śrī—Draupadī and so on. Fol. 66 of the Javanese Ādiparva begins the famous story of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. Dr. Juynboll¹ points out that this story agrees in some respects with the celebrated drama of Kālidāsa. The story of Durvāsā and the 'abhijñāna'-ring does not occur in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, which depicts it in a simpler way than Kālidāsa does. Fol. 74, a, offers a graphic description of Yayāti and states how the gods sent Kaca to the Brāhmaṇa Śukra for the purpose of learning sciences. As in Sanskrit, he was thrice killed by the Daityas, but each time he was re-animated by Śukra on the intercession of his daughter Devayāni, who passionately loved Kaca. As he did not respond to the love of the girl, the latter cursed him and this, too, was returned by him. The story proceeds to describe how she quarrelled with Śarmiṣṭhā, the daughter of the Daitya-king Vṛsaparvan, and was thrown into a well by the latter. Devayāni was ultimately saved by Yayāti. Śukra enraged at this insult threatened that he would leave the kingdom of Vṛsaparvan, who, therefore, was constrained to offer Śarmiṣṭhā as a female-attendant of Devayāni. The daughter of Śukra was ultimately married to Yayāti, who, by her, begot two sons, viz., Yadu and Turvaśu. In spite of the protestations of Devayāni, Yayāti got three sons through Śarmiṣṭhā, viz., Druhyu, Anu and Purū. As Yayāti thus violated a pledge he had made before, Śukra cursed him and he was afflicted with old-age. This he wanted to transfer to his sons, four of whom refused his request and were cursed by Yayāti. The author states that the Yādavas originated from Yadu, the Yavanas from Turvaśu, the Bhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlecchas from Anu. Purū, who succeeded his father, became the progenitor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Yayāti now comes to heaven, but he is again thrown down on the earth for his arrogant demeanour. By leading a virtuous life, he again came back to heaven. The story of Śāntanu and that of the Pāṇḍavas is also briefly noticed up to the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest.

The Virāṭaparva,¹ as we have said before, was composed about 996 A.D., during the reign of king Anantavikrama. The book was, no doubt, very popular in Java, because, many lakons and wayang stories have been derived from this book. The *Jagal Abilava* and part of the *Obong-Obongan Balé Si Galagala* are doubtless borrowed from this work. The name Abilava may appear curious to Indian readers, but when the term is explained as a corruption of Vallabha, the name assumed by Bhīma in Virāṭanagara, our readers, we presume, will no doubt feel amused. Like the Indian Hercules in Virāṭanagara, there are many epic heroes who are living in disguise in the literature of Java and Bali ! The book contains some pure, and many corrupted, Sanskrit ślokas, and their number is not less than sixty-two. The number will be appreciably augmented if we count single verses also. It should be noted, however, that many verses and prose-texts are not complete in Sanskrit. We cull here a few Sanskrit ślokas from the Old-Javanese Virāṭaparva, and they may serve to show the extent of corruption that prevailed in these ślokas in Java during the last decade of the 10th century A. D. Besides, we should also note the occasions, which necessitated their introduction into the book. On this point, we shall say something later on. The book opens, as is natural with Javanese writers, with 'Avighnaṃ astu', and this benedictory formula is then followed by the following corrupted Sanskrit śloka, which makes an eulogistic reference to Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, the crest-jewel of the śrotriya. It runs as follows :—

1 There are many Mss. of this book in the Libraries of Leiden and Batavia; they are codices 4682, 4681, 4683, 5027, 5103, 855, 959b, 986, 3133. Vide Juynboll, *Virāṭapārva*, Introduction.

"Śākreyo yas tapasya Andhakāripuvaram aptvā
 Salāsan (?) ito vai,
 Puṁsā yuktopalebhe viśalapasulanir (?) yā
 punaḥ kanyakātha
 Āpaddharmmapratikārajananakūśalo yas
 tayor ātmaputrah
 Kṛṣṇadvaipāyanākhyas sa jayati bhagavān
 śrotriyānām viśiṣṭa"¹

Cod. 4681 of this book contains the following Sanskrit śloka, which we also come across in the Calcutta-recension of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* :—

"Katham Virāṭanagare mama purvapitāmahāḥ
 Ajñātavāsam uṣitā Duryodhanabhayārdhitāḥ"²

It will not be proper for us to quote more Sanskrit ślokas in a general work of this nature. We only draw the attention of our readers to the fact that these verses can not be later than 996 A. D., and hence, they carry to a certain extent control similar verses of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. Though rampant corruption has minimised much of their intrinsic merit, we can, at any rate, fix with their help the latest date of the parallel ślokas in the Indian recensions of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. According to Dr. Schrieke,³ the Old-Javanese *Virāṭaparva* stands closer to the South-Indian than to the North-Indian recension of the same.

Having considered some characteristics of the Old-Javanese *Virāṭaparva*, we shall now proceed to give a brief account of its contents. The opening words, as Dr. Juynboll notes, agree with the Sanskrit ślokas, which Yudhiṣṭhira had said to Arjuna (śloka 14ff). The answer of the latter corresponds to Sanskrit śloka, no. 20, though the translation of the Javanese author is rather free. The next scene introduces us to the five Pāṇḍava heroes and Draupadī, who, assuming various names and disguises, wended their way towards the city of Virāṭa. Fol. 7, a, states that they

1 Juynboll, *Virāṭaparva*, p. 7.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.* dl. II, p. 151; also Juynboll, *Virāṭaparva*, p. 8.

3 B.J.O. Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang*, 1916, Instelling no. I.

concealed their weapons in a *Śamī*-tree, and binding a carcase thereto (so that nobody would come near), they entered the city. Yudhiṣṭhira entered as a poor Brāhmaṇa, expert in the game of dice ; Bhīma then entered as a cook of Yudhiṣṭhira, and proclaimed his prowess as a wrestler ; Arjuna then came in female-dress as a eunuch. Sahadeva declared him as a physician of cows, Nakula further pretending that they had served Yudhiṣṭhira. Draupadī was also employed as an attendant of queen Sudeṣṇā. Everything moves on smoothly till fol. 15 introduces us to Kīcaka, brother of Sudeṣṇā and commander-in-chief of the king. The loveliness of Draupadī excited the passions of Kīcaka, who wanted to possess her. Being troubled by the latter, Draupadī fled to Virāṭa. The enraged Bhīma was spurred to fury, and were it not for the timely beackoning of Yudhiṣṭhira, Kīcaka would have then and there paid the pēnalty with his life. The elder Pāṇḍava suggested that in proper time, she would be helped by her Gandharva husbands. In fol. 24, Bhīma consoles Draupadī by saying that Kīcaka would be killed in a rendezvous. Indeed, he killed him so horribly that the guards who saw him, exclaimed, "*ṅvāsya grīvā, ṅva caranau,*" etc, meaning, "where is his neck, where are his feet!" Draupadī answered that he has been killed by the Gandharvas. The blood-relations of Kīcaka, known as the Upakīcakas, now determined to burn her along with Kīcaka. Being implored by Draupadī, Bhīma enters the scene as a Gandharva, and after setting her at liberty, did away with the 105 Upakīcakas. Draupadī is now accused by Virāṭa, who told Sudeṣṇā to send her off. She, however, obtained permission to remain for 13 days more. Fol. 32, a, gives some details of the Kauravas, who had sent spies in all directions to discover the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍava-heroes. Through these spies, the Kauravas came to learn that Suśarman, king of the Trigartas, was making preparations to invade the kingdom of Virāṭa, and they now wanted to make a common cause with him. So the king of the Trigartas fell upon the cow-boys, and robbed them of

their animals. Virāṭa then sought the help of the four Pāṇḍavas. Arjuna was left out in consideration of his being a eunuch. Fol. 39 states how Virāṭa was taken prisoner and how this created an opportunity for the Pāṇḍavas to show their valour in the main theatre of the war. The author describes here that Yudhiṣṭhira killed 1000 soldiers, Nakula 700, Sahadeva 300. Bhīma, however, worked havoc in the army of Suśarman. Ultimately, Virāṭa was released by Bhīma, and king Suśarman was taken as the prize of the war. Thus the cows were again brought back from the clutches of the enemy. As a reward of their bravery, Virāṭa wanted to consecrate Yudhiṣṭhira to the throne, but the latter declined this honour. Thus the army of king Virāṭa returned to the city triumphant. Fol. 43, a, states that the Kauravas had meanwhile forcibly taken back the cows from the awe-stricken cow-boys, who now solicited the help of Bhūmiñjaya, son of Virāṭa. The latter exclaimed that he would kill all the Kauravas if only he had a good charioteer. Draupadī recommended Vṛhannalā to him. Dr. Juynboll observes that the story has got a *hiatus* here, which, however, can be filled up from Sanskrit sources. We find in the Indian text that the prince here promises rich booty to the ladies. The Javanese story now pursues the main theme once again. Arjuna, finding that Bhūmiñjaya has become frightened at the prospect of the actual war, admonishes him that women of the city would laugh at him if he returned from the field defeated. The prince would not hear him and jumped down from the chariot to fly off. Arjuna brought him back and, breaking the story of his identity to the trembling prince, now resumed command of the war. He first went to bring down his weapons from the Śamī-tree, and after explaining the significance of his other names, sounded his conch, named Devadatta. The Kauravas became now apprehensive, as they knew the familiar sound of the conch. Bhīṣma now arranges Kuru army in a fighting order. The author now describes his fight with the Kauravas, particularly with Kṛpa (fol. 56-

58), Droṇa and Aśvatthāman (fol. 59-61), Karna and Bhīṣma, Duryodhana and Vikarna (fol. 62ff) and some others. Fol. 65 describes how Duryodhana fled from the battle-field, and how Arjuna insultingly called him: "*Meghaṃ taṃ idaṃ bhuvi nāmadheyaṃ Duryodhana*," i.e., then unjust is your name Duryodhana on the earth! The interpretation given here of the name of Duryodhana is, 'one difficult to be fought with.' So, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Kṛpa and others rushed to help Duryodhana but they felt giddy for being struck with a charm-weapon of Arjuna. Arjuna says to Bhīṣma, "*kva te gatā buddhi, abhūt kva viryaṃ*," i.e., where are now your intellect, and your prowess!

This Ms. of the Virāṭaparva ends here abruptly. We can, however, fill up the gap with the help of Sanskrit texts, which describe how Arjuna returned victorious from the battle-field and threw off his *incognito*. Then follows the marriage of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, with the princess of Virāṭa, named Uttarā.

The Old-Javanese Udyogaparva, which we propose to discuss now, opens with: "*(Ma)ḥadya(dya)ngga ni(ng) pang niḥang kayu-kayu, hanā(w)wah hana tanpa(w)wah*."¹ These words, as has been pointed out, are translations of the Sanskrit śloka: "*Phalāphalavatī śākhe yathaiḥasmin vanaspatau*." These words were said by Sātyaki. It is a great misfortune to us that a long *hiatus* has occurred here. The Sanskrit text, however, states in this place that Kṛṣṇa would remain neutral, while Valadeva would cultivate friendliness with the Kauravas. The Pāṇḍavas now held a council of war, in which they discussed the measures to be taken in connexion with the prosecution of the war. Kṛṣṇa then repaired to Dvārāvātī, where his succour was sought after both by Duryodhana as well as Arjuna (fol. 3). Kṛṣṇa promised that he would lend an army of Gopālas to the Kauravas and himself become the charioteer of Arjuna. Śalya was thinking of joining the side of the Pāṇḍavas, but he was so well-received in the camp of

1 According to the reconstructed text of Juynboll.

the Kauravas that he had to join that side for the sake of prestige. He, however, intimated to the Pāṇḍavas that Karna would be betrayed by him in course of the war. And in this connexion, he described a story, which corresponds to the *Indravijaya* of the Sanskrit text to illustrate the victory of virtue and the downfall of the unrighteous. This story¹ runs up to fol. 21, where we revert to the story of the Kauravas. The Kauravas sent Sañjaya to the Pāṇḍavas with a view to ascertain the nature of their demands. In the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, this part is known as the Sañjayayānaparva. Fol. 25, a, introduces us to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who sought the advice of Vidura. In the Sanskrit text, this is known as the Prajāgaraparva. In this portion of the Javanese work, there are many references from relevant passages of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. Not satisfied with the advice of Vidura, Dhṛtarāṣṭra sought instructions from Sanatkumāra, and this subject forms the nucleus of the Sanatsujātaparva of the Indian text. Fol. 39, a, describes the return of Sañjaya and his report regarding the demand of the Pāṇḍavas. Though Vidura Kṛpa, Bhīṣma and others stood for peace, they were silenced by the militant tone of Duryodhana and Karna. Dhṛtarāṣṭra heard their deliberations. With fol. 53 we again turn to the story of the Pāṇḍavas, who despatched Kṛṣṇa to bring about the much-desired peace. In the Sanskrit text, this portion has rightly been designated the Bhagavad-yānaparvan. Yudhiṣṭhira first enunciated the nature of his demands and described the cities he wanted. Kṛṣṇa presented the case of the Pāṇḍavas, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra (fol. 62) implored his sons to follow the advice of Kṛṣṇa. The Kauravas, however, did not pay any attention to the advice of their old father. Kṛṣṇa had a conversation with Kuntī after the assembly broke up for that day. On fol. 71 we find Kṛṣṇa again dis-

1 As we are merely indicating the outline of the Javanese Udyoga-parva, we leave out the details of the story. It may be seen, however, in the Calcutta recension, ślokaś 228-565.

charging his monotonous duty, but without any appreciable result. In the assembly there were many sages, and of them, Jāmadagnya now relates the story of Dambhodbhava (cf. Skt. ślokas 3452-3500), who had declared himself mightier than Naranārāyaṇa, and was consequently humbled. The moral which the sage drew was that Duryodhana would likewise be overwhelmed. Fol. 80 presents us to sage Kaṇva, who pursues further the theme of Jāmadagnya and relates the story of Guṇakeśī, daughter of Indra's charioteer Mātali. The thread is spun further from fol. 93 with a new story related by Nārada, describing the promotion of Viśvāmitra from the status of a Kṣatriya to a Brāhmaṇa. It also states how Viśvāmitra dis-satisfied with the insistence of his disciple Gālava, asked the latter to procure 800 grey horses with black ears as his tuition fee. Gālava too, like Utaṅka, was going to lay down his life, when, by a stroke of fortune, he came across the king of birds, Garuḍa. The latter carried him on the top of Mount Rṣabha, where they met Śaṇḍilī, who offered him food. Due to the reasons described in the Sanskrit text, Garuḍa now became a pitiable shabby bird, and he craved the pardon of Śaṇḍilī. The latter said, "Na bhetavyaṃ Suparṇa'si Suparṇe tyaja sambhramaṃ".

The Ms. ends here abruptly. It is thus half the size of the Sanskrit text. Regarding the Old-Javanese prose-translation of the Sanskrit Udyogaparvan, Dr. Van der Tuuk¹ has observed that this is the "most corrupted of all" the parvas and the difficulty has been increased by the infiltration of many unintelligible passages. Dr. Juynboll, who has done more work than any other single scholar in this branch of study, has drawn up a somewhat comprehensive list of Sanskrit ślokas occurring in the Old-Javanese Udyogaparva and has compared it with that of the Calcutta-recension. We select a few specimen ślokas

from the list of Dr. Juynboll¹ [to mark the points of agreement and deviations.

(a) Jav :

“*Tava purvaṃ bhigāmānāt pūrvaṃ
cāpyasya darśanāt, sahāryaṃ ubhayor
eva kṛisyami Suyodhanaḥ*”

Let us now see how this śloka stands in relation to its parallel passage in the Calcutta recension. Cal.ed : 145.

“*Tava pūrvābhigamanāt.....sāhāyyaṃ
ubhayor eva kṛiṣyāmi Suyodhanaḥ*”

Jav. annotation : “Both of you should be helped by me as a reward for your first coming as well as for your first seeing.” Kṛṣṇa said these words to Arjuna and Duryodhana, both of whom sought his help. Arjuna, for example, saw him first, while Duryodhana approached him first.

(b) Jav :

“*Na śuṣṭkena na candrena na sāstrana,
na bajrena, nasmanenāva dāruṇa na
diva na niśani tadā.*”

This śloka may be compared with—

Cal. ed : 320.

“*.....Cādreṇa nāśmanā na ca
dāruṇā, na śastreṇa na cāstreṇa na divā
na tathā niśi.*”

Jav. annotation : “The weapon that produces a draught or brings about a down-pour,—none of them—yea, no stone, no wood, no arms, no iron-missile shall kill me, neither by day nor by night shall I die.”

(c) Jav :

“*Adbhyo'gniḥ Brāhmāta Kṣatriḥ āsmato
laham utvitvaṃ, tevāṃ sārvaḡataḥ tejaḥ
svasa yonisu śasyati.*”

Cal. ed : 482

“*.....'gnir Brahmataḥ Kṣatram āsmato
loham utthitaṃ, teṣāṃ sarvatragan tejaḥ
svāsu yoniṣu śāmyati.*”

Jav. annotation : "The fire is derived from water. The Kṣatriyas likewise owe their origin to the Brāhmaṇas, and iron to the stone. The power of them all, though not different, becomes impotent against the original source."

The ślokas we have quoted from the Sanskrit and the Old-Javanese recensions of the *Mahābhārata* will demonstrate the kinship that subsists between these works, particularly between the Calcutta edition and the Javanese recension. The question, therefore, naturally arises, when this Indian recension of the Sanskrit Udyogaparvan made its way into Java? Though the materials at our disposal are not sufficient to answer the question, we can still hazard the opinion that it travelled to Java after the Hindu revival in the island in the 9th century of the Christian era, and before the beginning of the 11th century A. D., when the Javanese work was composed. The Javanese recension contains 197 adhyāyas.

With this brief survey of the Indo-Javanese Udyogaparva, we now pass on to consider the Bhīṣmaparva, the next important book of the *Mahābhārata*.

The Bhīṣmaparva is comparatively a small work, and it offers a description of the earlier portions of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war. The *Mahābhārata*-story really begins with the hitting of the target, and ends, as Winternitz¹ tells us, with laments over the fall of Duryodhana, with a few words about subsequent events. So the main interest of the story grows in volume from the beginning of the war, which falls in the Bhīṣmaparva, though a tense apprehension of the coming war has enveloped the atmosphere of the Indo-Javanese Udyogaparvas. The book does not enjoy much popularity in Java and Bali as the Ādiparva and the Virāṭaparva. And this, we believe, has to be accounted for by the fact that the existence of the Kawi-work called *Bhāratayuddha* has minimised the importance of the Bhīṣmaparva to a great extent. The former gives a graphic description of the war with great

1 *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, 1927, p. 372.

force and vividness,¹ and this has served to overshadow the latter book in the eyes of the people. This book, it should be noted, also contains some Sanskrit ślokas. The following couplet, which occurs in Cod. 4139, tallies with a similar passage in the Calcutta recension of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* :—

“*Katham yuyudhire vīrāḥ Kurupāṇḍavasomakāḥ*
Pārthivāḥ sumahātmāno nānādeśasamāgatāḥ”²

One peculiarity of these parvas is the frequency of Sanskrit verses, which have been interspersed here and there. They come in, as Kern has observed, where a new chapter begins, or where an important speech has to be set on the lips of an important person. But these verses are by no means complete, and we sometimes get only one-half or one-fourth of a śloka. Even then, some words have been unrecognisably spoilt, probably by later copyists, who did not understand the sacred tongue of India. There has also occurred the intrusion of non-Sanskritic terms, some of which are problems to linguists as a peculiar hodge-podge. The prose texts in Old-Javanese, which occur in these works, though written in what Kern says, “een half kinderlijken half katechetischen stijl” and “in’t meest prozaïsche proza,” are still of immense value to us in as much as they are trustworthy documents of Old-Javanese language and literature towards the closing decade of the 10th century A. D. and the beginning of the eleventh. With these observations on the earlier part of the Indo-Javanese *Mahābhārata*, we now pass on to consider the *Bhāratayuddha*, the most significant work of the Mid-twelfth century.

II. The *Bhāratayuddha*

The *Bhāratayuddha* has been described by Friederich as the Iliad of the Javanese peoples and the author of it,

1 In the West gallery of Angkor Vat, we find scenes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war carved out with great vividness.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cut. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 156.

Mpu Sedah, has been described as the Homer of Indonesia.¹
The author² says of himself :—

‘Nowan don Puseda makirtia Sasakala risang’a
kuda Sudda Candrama—”

i. e. the year 1079 (Śaka)³ was made *annus mirabilis* by the contribution of Puseda.

The date is also confirmed by other writers as well. The *Wawatekan*, which we have described before, gives the same date in the very same terms of Candrasaṅkala. According to Dr. Juynboll, the work has been written in simple and luminous style, and its classical handling reminds one of the heroic poems of Greece. The opinion of Dr. Hazeu,⁴ “Niet de dichter dus, veeler de schoolmaster is hier aan het woord”—seems to be unjust in as much as the poet has shown traces of real genius here and there. The poet had a keen power of observation like Wordsworth, but he had none of his philosophical insight.

He has observed how the “Campak flowers were in full bloom and were ready to fall,” “faded tañjung flowers were caught in spiders’ web,” and how the “dead shells were deposited on the banks by retiring waters.” He has not even missed to notice the “marks that have been left upon the rocks by the current of the stream.” His powers of comparison and description seem to be equally great, though he has introduced the artificialities of style which we notice in Māgha, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and some other classical writers of ancient India. Considering the question from all points of view, we can probably accept him as a good poet with some powers of imagination, and with keen powers of observation.

1 *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 6, in *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XXII.

2 *Bhāratayuddha*, strophe 6.

3 It is stated in candra-saṅkala: rasanga (9), Kuda (7), Sudda (0), and Candrama (1), which, when referred to the rule ‘*aṅkasya xāmā gati*’ becomes 1079 (Śaka).

4 *Tijdschrift T.J.T.L.V.K.*, 1901, p. 291.

The poet was tutor to the king of Kediri, Śrī Pāduka Bhaṭāra Jayabhaya, in whose reign the poem was composed. It has been stated that the author fell into disgrace and the latter portions of his work were completed by Mpu Panuluh, a Buddhist author of high literary gifts. Some parts of this account are corroborated by the Old-Javanese *Harivaṃśa*. We shall now give a brief account of the contents of the *Bhāratayuddha*, which may be stated in the following manner :—

The work opens with a prologue, which discusses the conversation between Bhaṭāra Girinātha and Jayabhaya, and describes the time when the work was undertaken by Mpu Sedah. The main theme of the story begins with the 8th strophe. It states how Kṛṣṇa was sent by the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas to Suyodhana to demand "a division of the country." It should be noted, however, that in the Old-Javanese *Udyogaparva*, Yudhiṣṭhira demanded the cities of Avisthala, Vṛkasthala, Vāraṇavata, Mākandī and Avasāna. Thus Kṛṣṇa, followed by Sātyaki, left Virāṭa for the Kuru-capital. The author then gives a graphic description of the surrounding landscape in which he not only notices the *tañjung*-plant, which, having "reclosed its petals hung like a closed umbrella,"¹ but also the "joints of sugar-canes,"² thus combining high imaginative expressions with the most common-place ones. On his way to Hastinā, Kṛṣṇa was joined at the suburbs of the capital by Kāṇva, Janaka and Nārada, and he himself occupying the charioteer's place, drove off towards the city along with the three paṇḍitas. Hearing that Kṛṣṇa was coming, Bhīṣma and Dhṛtarāṣṭra passed orders to show respect to the honourable guest—to which Śakuni, Karṇa and Duryodhana demurred. The author then describes the reception accorded to him by all people, to which we had occasion to refer already in connexion with our study of the Indo-Javanese *alaṅkāra*. After a short parley with Droṇa, Bhīṣma, Kṛpa, Vidura, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and others, he touched

1 Strophe 14.

2 Strophe 16.

the feet of the wife of Pāṇḍu, whose mind, on seeing him, "expanded like an opening flower." After consoling her, Kṛṣṇa went to Vidura again. In strophes 37-39, the Kauravas discuss the course to be pursued and it is enlivened, much to the liking of Duryodhana, by the militant notes of Kṛpa, Karṇa, Śakuni and some others. The night draws in and wears out to midnight, when the Brāhmaṇas proclaim the hour (str. 54). Next morning Kṛṣṇa again came to the hall of audience to place formally the demands of the Pāṇḍavas, to which the sober people nodded assent (str. 67-73). The mischievous Kauravas were now preparing to strike him below the belt, and Kṛṣṇa, being informed of the whole affair, assumed his Viṣṇu-mūrti, with four arms, three heads and three eyes. There arose a commotion in the elements of nature (str. 77-80), and the Kauravas were struck with fear. When Droṇa, Bhīṣma and Nārada reminded Kṛṣṇa of the vows of Bhīma and Draupadī, the god relented and assumed his former shape. After the assembly broke up, Kṛṣṇa enlightening Kuntī of the state of affairs, returned from the Kuru-capital. The chariot moved so quickly that "time could not be counted," and within a short time he reached Virāṭa and reported the attitude of the Kauravas to the assembled Pāṇḍavas. A council of war was held immediately and, next morning, they issued forth in a stream from the capital of Virāṭa to decide the whole question by an appeal to arms. The author then gives some description of the army, and how it was marshalled in two contending camps. The poet compares the fluttering banners to "dark clouds threatening rain." Several strophes are then devoted to the enumeration of persons, who were appointed to conduct the war. Just before the war, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa open a conversation which is couched in the spirit that pervades the opening section of the *Bhagavadgītā*. The ideas are the same, the very expressions do not differ in some.¹

1 Cf. *Bhāratayuddha*, Str. 122-123 and *Bhagavadgītā*, 1/26-28 and 2/3.

The author then takes us through the meshes of the war with ups and downs in the tide of fortune. The fall of Bhīṣma is described in strophes 162-164. The poet describes how the blood of Bhīṣma, sprouting forth in the regions above, scatters itself in the form of flowers. Then the death of Bhagadatta, Abhimanyu, Jayadratha, Bhūriśravā, Karṇa, Ghaṭotkaca and others is described with some detail. The note-strings of the death of Śalya and the aftermath of the war have been strung in deep pathos. The inter-play of emotions in Satyawatī has been brought out in a masterly fashion. The poet says how a flash of lightning guided the lady to her husband, and how she "grasped the livid corpse" in "frantic wilderness". For the last time, because she was now prepared for committing suicide, she fully gazed upon the "beloved features" of her husband and applied "healing balm" to his wounds, as if, her husband would come back to life. The blood that was trickling out from his chest, she wiped off carefully with the "skirt of her embroidered vest" and dyed his "pallid lips" with the *Siri* juice. She enquired why his lips were now sealed in unmeaning silence, without a single word of comfort for her. She now takes leave of her earthly relations, her accompanying lady-attendant, and then commits suicide with a view to be again in the presence of her departed master. Her only fear was that the celestial nymphs might get a precedence over her by stealing the love of her affectionate husband, and so she dies with the words in her lips—

*"Though Vidadaris (vidyādhariṣ) shall obey thy call,
Yet keep me a place above them all."*

Indeed, how beautiful and how womanly! She loved her husband so passionately, so intensely that she could not even dream that the affections of her husband should be partnered by unknown women! The female attendant also followed the example of her mistress and they went to heaven.

Then is described the battle between Bhīma and Suyodhana, in which the former reminded by Arjuna struck the latter on the left thigh. Thus Suyodhana was killed.

This is answered by the carnage of Aśvatthāman at dead of night. The author ends by describing that Bhaṭāra Jaya Bhaya is no other than Dharmmavaṃśa or Yudhiṣṭhira, the king of Hastinā.

It is probable that the subject-matter of the *Bhāratayuddha*, leaving aside the native touches, was the kernel of the original Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, which has assumed its present proportions through the accretions of centuries. A prologue and an epilogue were all that was needed to give it a well-balanced form, which, though non-existing in the *Bhāratayuddha*, must have covered in a very brief way the early history of the two royal dynasties and their position after the Great War, where the Sanskrit story probably ended.

The *Bhāratayuddha* was brought out in modern Javanese by Jasa di pura I and Jasa di pura II, in *tembang macapat* metre. The former was Sabhā-panḍit of Paku Buwana III (1749-1788).¹ It should be observed, however, that the New-Javanese recension is somewhat different from the Old-Javanese *Bhāratayuddha*.

III Last Books of the Mahābhārata

Of the last books of the *Mahābhārata*, we do not possess the Gadā, Sauptika, Strī, Śānti, and the Aśvamedhikaparva. The books that have escaped the ravages of time are only four in number, viz., Āśrama, Mausala, Prasthānika and the Svargārohaṇaparva. As the first three have been translated and edited by Dr. Juynboll,² it is now possible to give an account of the contents. We shall first describe the Āśramavasana-parva,³ as the fifteenth book of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* is called in Java. It contains at least 53 Sanskrit ślokas and

1 Vide *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. II, 2nd edition, p. 590.

2 Juynboll, *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata in Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling, vergeleken met den Sanscrit-tekst*, 1893.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 90-125.

the number will be considerably augmented if half-verses are also taken into consideration. The contents of the Old-Javanese Āśramavasana-parva may be described in the following manner. The story opens with a query of king Janamejaya, who asked Bhagavān Vaiśampāyana to give an account of Yudhiṣṭhira after his sons, the hundred Kauravas and others had been killed in the great Kuru-Pāṇḍava war. He also wanted to be enlightened about the Pāṇḍavas and their doings. The great sage then began to narrate the post-war history. He said that Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who was upset by the consequences of the Bhāratayuddha, became gradually reconciled to the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas, too, on their part, paid their due homage to the old man. It was only Bhīma, who did not like to show any courtesy to the father of his enemies. Queen Gāndhārī was also reconciled in course of time. The old Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who had now no charm for the world, began fasting and prepared himself for asceticism. Having resolved to go to the forest, Dhṛtarāṣṭra wished to perform a Śrāddha-ceremony, for which purpose he asked Yudhiṣṭhira to give him gold, horse, elephants, etc., for distribution. After the Śrāddha-ceremony was over Gāndhārī, Kuntī, Sañjaya and others followed Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who began to weep on seeing Kuntī accompanying him. Upon this Yudhiṣṭhira said to Kuntī, "Mother, forgive my words: *Vadhūjanabratā nārī na dūraṃ gantum arhati.*" Kuntī also replied, "*Śvaśrūśvaśurayoḥ pādān śuśruṣanti vane'nvaham.*" As Kuntī could not be persuaded to turn back home, the Pāṇḍavas and others returned to the capital weeping. Meanwhile, Dhṛtarāṣṭra crossed many countries and came to the Gaṅgā. He came in sight of the Kurukṣetra and passed the night there with Śatayūpa, a sage of great reputation. Next day he proceeded further and was initiated by Bhagavān Vyāsa. Vidura, Sañjaya, Gāndhārī and Kuntī also began to practise hard austerities. Meanwhile, Yudhiṣṭhira was very anxious for them and, after calling his brothers and other members of the royal family, he asked them to accompany him. The writer then gives some details of ascetics who were performing asceticism.

without food, drink, sleep and even water. Yudhiṣṭhira proceeded to where Vidura was; but the latter died just after he had caught the last view of Yudhiṣṭhira. The king now wanted to burn him, but a heavenly voice said, "*Bho bho rājan na dagdhavyam Vidurasya Śarīraṇam.*"¹ Sixteen years had now elapsed after the Great War and Bhagavān Vyāsa came to console the forest-dwelling royal family. He asked them to repair to the banks of the river Gaṅgā. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, thus followed by the Pāṇḍavas, Kuntī, Draupadī, Subhadrā and the widows of the 100 Kauravas, reached the banks of that holy river. There he gave presents to the ascetics and the poor and took bath in the crystal water of the river. Gāndhārī and Dhṛtarāṣṭra then received the *divyacaṅkṣu*, i.e., the celestial vision, and this enabled them to see the heroes of the Bhārata-war. Vyāsa then described the previous birth of these heroes. After this, the Pāṇḍavas returned to their capital along with the female members who had accompanied them. After the lapse of two years, the Divine messenger Nārada came to the capital of the Pāṇḍavas and described how Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī and Kuntī were burnt down by forest-fire. Nārada eulogised the burning of Gāndhārī with Dhṛtarāṣṭra and, after consoling the royal family, he went away. Towards the close of this book, the writer says that at that time 36 years had passed from the end of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war.

Then begins the Mausalaparva.² King Janamejaya asked Vaiśampāyana why the Brāhmaṇas had cursed the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas and how they all perished. This subject forms the frame-work of the Old-Javanese Mausalaparva. Vaiśampāyana related that once Bhagavān Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada went to Dvārāvātī and they were ridiculed there by the Yādavas, foremost of whom were Sāraṇa and Sāmba. Indeed, the latter disguised himself as a woman and asked the boon of a child of the ṛṣis. As the ascetics were endowed with prophetic vision, they came to know everything

1 Reconstructed by Dr. Juynboll.

2 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-137.

and cursed that Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, would give birth to a *musala* and this would lead to the destruction of the Yādavas. Only Kṛṣṇa and Valadeva would be saved from the turmoils of the civil war, though the first would be killed by Jarā and the second would vanish into the sea. In course of time, Sāmba bore a *musala* which glared like fire. This was then presented to king Ugrasena, who ordered it to be thrown into the sea. This was, however, transformed into reeds and grass, which margined the shores of the sea. While Ugrasena and Kṛṣṇa requested the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas to remain in the path of virtue, they did not pay any heed to these wise words of caution. Kali now visited the Yādavas in the guise of a man and saw how the Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas disgraced themselves. The author then describes how "coming events cast their shadows before." It was the thirty-sixth year after the Kuru-war, when Gāndhārī had cursed Kṛṣṇa. There was an eclipse and women of the Yādavas began to see horrible dreams. Soon after occurred that drinking bout which brought about the final destruction of them all. In their quarrel, they broke off reeds and grass that stood by the sea-shore, and they were immediately turned into *musalas*. They were used as weapons wherewith fathers killed their sons; and the sons killed their fathers and other blood-relations, without distinguishing friend and foe. Kṛṣṇa stood aghast and saw in his neighbourhood the dead bodies of Sāmba, Papyumna (Pradyumna), Cārudeṣṇā and Aniruddha. He sought out Valadeva, Babhru and Dāruki and the last one was requested to fetch Arjuna. After his departure, Babhru was killed by a huntsman while he was trying to remove the women. Kṛṣṇa then went to Vasudeva and reported the destruction of the Yādavas. Then leaving some instructions with him, he repaired to the Prabhāsātīrtha. Ultimately he went to a forest and became absorbed in *Samādhi*, in which position he was accidentally killed by the hunter Jarā. Kṛṣṇa then assumed the divine form of Viṣṇu and repaired to heaven, where he was worshipped by all gods including Mahādeva.

Now, Arjuna hurriedly came to Dvārāvātī and viewed

with dismay the horrible scenes of destruction prevailing all around. He fell senseless to the ground, though he gradually recovered. Vasudeva died next morning. There was utter confusion everywhere. Arjuna with a heavy heart burnt the grand old man with the fallen Yādavas, and this was immediately followed by a great flood, which totally destroyed Dvārāvati. Arjuna, fearing the strength of the current, fled towards the Pañjāb along with the wives of Kṛṣṇa. At this time, a gang of robbers fell upon them, took off all jewels of the ladies and dishonoured them. After the departure of the robbers, he came to Indraprastha. The author then describes how the Pāṇḍavas then made Vajra, king of Indraprastha, and enjoined upon him the duties of protecting the four castes and the four āśramas. Of the wives of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī, Jāmvatī and Satyabhāmā committed themselves to the fire ; others repaired to cloisters. Arjuna went to the hermitage of Vyāsa and requested him to narrate why the Yādavas were so destroyed. Vyāsa re-told the old story and advised Arjuna to perform penances in the forest. Yudhiṣṭhira, when informed of the affairs of Dvārāvati, wept with his other brothers. The Musalaparva ends with, "*It(h)i Mo(k)salaparwwa yathāpurāṇa.*"

Dr. Juynboll remarks¹ that in the Mausalaparva the description of the death of Valadeva is given too early. In the Sanskrit version of the story, the above episode occurs after Kṛṣṇa repaired to the woods. More peculiar is the description of the four Pāṇḍavas who came to hell—a theme, though occurring in the Old-Javanese Prasthānikaparva, is wholly foreign to the Sanskrit text. After the Prasthānikaparva² follows the Svargārohaṇaparva, which opens with '*om avighnam astu.*' This work is bulkier than some other parvas and contains but few verses from the Sanskrit text. The contents of the Svargārohaṇaparva may be described in the following manner. Yudhiṣṭhira came to heaven and was surprised to find there Duryodhana and other Kauravas,

1 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-147.

who were sitting there in company of the gods. Yudhiṣṭhira enquired of the four Pāṇḍavas and asked why Karṇa was not present among the Kauravas. Nārada answered that he must forget what once happened on the earth. The 1st chapter ends with, “*Iti Yudhi(ṣṭhi)ranārada sambu-(ḥhā)ṣaṇa-kaṭhāparvaṇi Prathamo’dhyā(ya).*” In the Sanskrit text, this chapter has no particular name. Dr. Juynboll says¹ that in other Javanese Parvas, we do not find any chapter-division such as here. Besides, he says, the conversation between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana is more frequent here than even in the Sanskrit text.

Yudhiṣṭhira asked where his brothers and friends were and he heard with astonishment that they were in hell. He said thereupon that he would rather live in hell with the Pāṇḍavas than with the Kauravas in heaven. The gods gave with him an escort to conduct him to hell as the way was extremely difficult. He observed all sorts of worms and peculiar animals crouching hither and thither ; the mutilated hands and feet were shooting forth nauseating smell. He must also cross a deep stream with hot water, after which one could expect to enter the hell. The hells are described by the author in vivid colour. Yudhiṣṭhira wanted to turn back from this horrible scene, when an aerial voice called him, “*An(u)graheng(ḥhāt) Dharmaputra tiṣṭha tāvaḥmatakāṇ (ḥvanmuhurtakāṇ).*”² This is the only Sanskrit verse which occurs in this Parva.

Yudhiṣṭhira had not heard the voice, but he found out to his utter surprise that the Pāṇḍavas and their friends were calling him to stay back. Thereupon he asked the Devadūta (the Ms. has Devasuta) to return to heaven. Here ends the second chapter. Now follows a conversation between Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana, in which the latter gave a glowing account of virtues accruing from the study of the *Mahābhārata*. It appears from this that the Epic was as honoured as the Vedas and it was meant for the

1 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Brāhmaṇas, the Śaivas¹ and the Saugatas. Dr. Juynboll says that the last reference does not occur in the Sanskrit text. Then follows a list of the books of the *Mahābhārata*, which differs from that given in the Old-Javanese *Ādiparva*. The name of the *Anuśāsanaparva* occurs in this list. The lessons which Vaiśampāyana gave to Janamejaya include teachings in the legal theories of Manu.

Vaiśampāyana then related that Yudhiṣṭhira took bath in the river Gaṅgā and left off his mortal coil. He then saw the Pāṇḍavas in heaven. Here ends the third chapter known as *Yudhiṣṭhiradharmasambhāsaṅg(śana)kathā*. In the Sanskrit text this is known as *Yudhiṣṭhira-tanutyāga*. Dharma then led him to Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Bhīṣma and Draupadī. He also heard from Indra that the Viṣṇis and the Andhakas had also gone to heaven. Herewith ends the fourth chapter.

Janamejaya then wanted to know more of the heroes who were killed in the titanic struggle of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war. Vaiśampāyana informed him that these subjects were more known to Śuka, the son of the great sage Vyāsa. And accordingly, Śuka began to relate the story of the heroes who fought in the Great Bhārata-war. He said that these warriors have turned into gods and demons, as they were before. So Bhīṣma merged himself into the eight Vasus, Pāṇḍu into Indra, Drupada into Varuṇa, Vasudeva into Kāśyapa and Abhimanyu into Sang Hyang Wulan. The comrades of Duryodhana were transformed into rākṣasas. Meanwhile, the wives of Kṛṣṇa came to heaven. Ghaṭotkaca, who is now a popular figure in Javanese Wayang plays, was also transformed into Yakṣa.

The story again veers round to Yudhiṣṭhira who obtained the unstinted praise of all gods. Indra said to him that the four Pāṇḍavas must remain for sometime to come in hell; for, they had played treacherously with Droṇa

1 Note the distinction made between the Brāhmaṇas and the Śaivas.

at the Bhārata-war. In this portion, as Dr. Juynboll¹ points out, the Old-Javanese text is more elaborate than the Sanskrit version. The treacherous way in which Bhīṣma and Śalya were done to death is also fully discussed. Indra then advised Yudhiṣṭhira to take a fresh bath in the river Gaṅgā and by this means all his previous sins were worn off. The book closes with some topics of the previous war. Janamejaya thanked the speaker for his narratives.

As regards the date of the last four books of the *Mahābhārata* described above, we are quite in the dark. No light is thrown from external sources. Linguistic evidences are also not of much value unless corroborated by other trustworthy evidences. There are some reasons to believe that the *Koravāśrama*, *Kuñjaraḥarṇa* and the *Āśramavasana-parva* were composed in W. Java in the 14th century A.D. The use of interjections, as we have said before, is a peculiarity of contemporary Sundanese literature and, therefore, the occurrence of '*Jag glis upaper*' in the *Āśramavasana-parva* may be important from this point of view.² We shall not be far wrong probably if we accept these four works as specimens of the fourteenth-century literature.

In India, the *Harivaṃśa* is regarded as an appendix of the *Mahābhārata* and we cannot, therefore, find a more suitable occasion for the discussion of this work than the present one. The main theme of this kakawin may be described in the following manner :—

It says that Kṛṣṇa was enamoured of Rukmiṇī. And this brought about a quarrel between him and Jarāsandha. The latter requisitioned the help of Śiśupāla. The subject has sometimes been handled in an original way, as we are told that Jarāsandha was helped by the Pāṇḍavas, who thus fought against Kṛṣṇa. As three of the Pāṇḍavas were killed in the fight, Arjuna wanted to turn the scale of the war. Kṛṣṇa also took his divine from.³

1 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, dl. 72, pp. 401 ff.

3 Dr. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, vol. I, p. 90.

It is interesting to note that the writer of this book, Mpu Panuluh, professed the Buddhist religion, while the choice of his subject was Hinduistic. The book was composed in the reign of king Jayabhaya, and this appears from the last verse of the second strophe which runs as follows :—

“Śrī Dharmēśvara Digjayāñjayayayāpañjāti Viṣṇvātmaḥa.”

The *Jayajaya* of the above verse has already been restored to Jayabhaya by Dr. Van der Tuuk.¹ The poet was connected with the composition of the *Bhāratayuddha*, as we have seen before.

The Sanskrit *Harivaṃśa* furnished immense materials for the poets and artists of Greater India. In the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat, the artists have described the story of Pradyumna enjoying the company of the daughter of king Bāṇa, in the latter's harem. The departure of Kṛṣṇa for Sonitpura and the arrival of Garuḍa before the wall of fire which encircled the city—have been delineated with great vividness.² The episode, which describes how Kṛṣṇa was once bound by a rope and how he up-rooted two *Arjuna*-trees while pushing out the rope through them, is present both at Angkor Vat³ as well as at the Viṣṇu-temple of Prāmbānān.⁴ There are many other episodes of this character represented in the structures of Greater India and they prove the great sway the work had over the thoughts of the Non-Indian peoples.

1 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 408; cf. also *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L.VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 517.

2 *B.C.A.I.*, 1911-'12, pp. 177-181; cf. *Harivaṃśa*, chap. CLXXV ff; *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, chap. V, 33 etc.

3 *B.C.A.I.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-193, pl. XV.

4 N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, vol. I, second ed., p. 479.

CHAPTER XII

ITIHASA OR EPIC WORKS, *Contd.*

THE MAHABHARATA-CYCLE OF STORIES.

The *Mahābhārata* contains more legends than the *Rāmāyaṇa* and has thus served as an inexhaustible quarry to the classical writers of Java and Bali. A large number of kakawins and Wayang stories has been based upon or inspired by the legends of the *Mahābhārata*, which were not infrequently given the orientation of Indonesia. Sometimes, the classical writers of Java accepted the main characters of the Sanskrit Epic as the heroes of their works but we shall seek in vain for the discovery of the main outline of these stories in the labyrinth of Sanskrit literature. It is not an easy matter in such cases to guess the source of their inspiration. But there are other *Kawi*-works which can easily be referred to the Epic literature of Ancient India. In the present chapter we shall try to give an account of both these groups of works.

Let us begin with the popular *Kawi*-work called the *Harivijaya*, which is mainly based upon the story of the Churning of the Milk-sea in the *Ādiparvan*. We have already seen how the legend spread throughout the greater part of South-East Asia, and how it was immortalised in the art of Cambodia. It appears that this exquisite early Indian myth made an irresistible aesthetic appeal to the cultured peoples of Java and Bali. The *Harivijaya* gives an elaborate account of this story. The book has been written in pure Old-Javanese and its title appears in canto LVIII.

1 *Vide* Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Ned. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 152-154; also Dr. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, Vol. I, p. 90; *Not. Bat. Gen.*, XXXI, pp. 114-116.

The first canto opens with a graphic description of the gods and demons, who had flocked together near Mount Mandara. Anantabhoga, who dragged the Mount to the Milk-sea according to the Ādiparvan version of the story, also plays here the same rôle. The tortoise Akūpāra, whom we notice in verse MCXXII of the Sanskrit Ādiparvan, has been transformed here into Akupa. In the second verse of the fourth canto the poet describes the emergence of the horse Ucceśrava (Skt. *Uccaiśravas*) from the depths of the sea. The origin of Lakṣmī or Śrī has been related in the fourth verse of this canto, and this corresponds to śloka MCXLVI of the Sanskrit Ādiparvan. In the Khmer representation of the story we actually find Lakṣmī emerging from the churning of the Milk-sea. The next song gives the origin of the divine physician Dhanvantari, and this agrees with śloka MCXLIX of the Sanskrit text. As the poet says:

“Singgih sāri ni śṛṣṭi ning jaladhi parvata tumuluy adadya Dhanvantari.”¹

The main interest of the story, however, grows from song XXVIII, which introduces to us the rākṣasa-king Ratmaja, a name that does not occur in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva. As this Asura-king had taken possession of *Amṛta*, Viṣṇu filched it away from him in the disguise of Lakṣmī. In the following songs the poet gives a graphic description of the war between the gods and demons. In verse XIV of song LXIX, we find Indra seeking the help of Viṣṇu, who at last killed the Asura-king Bali (verse XXXI). With canto LV begins the history of Rāhu, which also occurs in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva. Dr. Juynboll² draws our attention to the fact that the name of Rāhu's father, which is Vipracitti in the Sanskrit version, has been corrupted to Vipracinti both here and in the Old-Javanese Ādiparva.

The kakawin *Ratnavijaya* has also been written in a luminous style, though the author has taken some liberties.

1 *Bijdragen T. I. VK.*, 6th Series VII, p. 105.

2 *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 154.

with the spelling of Sanskrit names. For example, the heroine of the poem, viz., Tilottamā, has appeared here as Lottama. The subject of this poem¹ has been borrowed from the Old-Javanese Ādiparva, which owes its origin to India. The main interest of the poem veers round Lottama or Tilottamā, the celestial courtesan, who was the prize of a duel between Sunda and Upasunda, both of whom wanted to possess the lovely maiden. About her, Somadeva² writes in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*: “And Brahmā, wishing to destroy them (Sunda and Upasunda) gave an order to Viśvakarman and had constructed a heavenly woman, in order to behold whose beauty even Śiva truly became four-faced³ so as to look four ways at once while she was devoutly circum-bulating him”. So a duel ensued over this Tilottamā and the two monsters, exhausted with their deadly strife, breathed their last. Thus the fruits of their asceticism, which had made Indra apprehensive of their ultimate design, were spoilt in the allurements of the celestial courtesan.

The title of the book appears in verse V of canto XXII. Some figures of the *Mahābhārata* also play a prominent rôle in the work called *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, of which the title is given in canto LI. It seems that this kakawin, like the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, was also known by a second name. In the first verse of canto L, for example, we find—

“*Śampu keketan ing kathātita Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa ngaranya tanparacana.*”

At any rate, the meanings of these two titles, *Ghāṭotkacāśraya* and *Ghaṭotkacaśaraṇa* are identical.

The work is important from two points of view. It has been written in pure Old-Javanese and has served as an important source of Malay and Javanese Wayang stories.

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Ned. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 160-161; also Dr. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, Vol. I, pp. 737-738.

2 Tawney's edition, Vol. I, p. 108.

3 cf. “*Catur=mukho mahāliṅgaś=cāru-liṅgas=tathaiva ca.*” *Mbh. Anuśāsana*, 17/16.

Indeed, the *panakawan*'s,¹ who are well-known figures in the Wayang-literature, are probably noticed for the first time in the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*.² The kernel of the story³ is formed by the description of a fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmaṇakumāra over the possession of a lovely maiden Kṣītisundarī by name. Ghaṭotkaca, the celebrated hero of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, came to help his cousin for turning the scales of the war.

It is not an easy matter to find out the date of this *Kawi*-work. In the first verse of canto L, the name of the author appears as Mpu Panuluh. The question naturally arises, is he identical with the author of the *Harivaṃśa* ? And if so, how are we to account for the following verse occurring in the third strophe of canto I, viz.,—

“Śrī bhupāla Jayākṛta prabhu viśeṣa tuhutuhu bhaṭāra Keśava.”⁴

It seems to show that the author flourished in the reign of king Jayākṛta. Panuluh, the writer of the *Harivaṃśa*, describes Jayabhaya as the reigning king. If we seek to identify the two Panuluhs, we shall have to prove that this Jayākṛta, under whose reign the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* was composed, is a predecessor or a follower of Jayabhaya, king of Kediri. We do not know of any Jayākṛta reigning in Kediri before the time of Jayabhaya. After him we find a king of the name of Śrī Sarveśvara Janarddhanāvatāra Vijayāgraja Samasinghanādānivarīyavīrya Parākrama Digjayottuṅgadeva. A record from Kediri, dated 1160 A.D., stands against his name.⁵ Besides, there is a tradition that

1 Corresponding to ‘pages’ or ‘adherents.’

2 J. L. A. Brandes, *Tjandi Djago*, Archaeologisch onderzoek op Java en Madura, I, p. 42, foot note.

3 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150; *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 6th Series VII, 1900, pp. 102ff; cf. *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-14; cf. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss.*, 1899, pp. 50-51.

4 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 517.

5 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 293.

the son of Jayabhaya was Jayakatwang,¹ who is still a shadowy figure. Though we know from an anonymous work² the name of one Jayanagara Katwang ing Jagat, who seems to be a patron of literature, there is no plausible ground for identifying these two persons. Thus there is no room for Jayākṛta just after the reign of Jayabhaya at least in the present state of our knowledge.

Long afterwards, we come across one or two kings bearing the name of Kṛtajaya.³ An inscription of Kṛtajaya I bears the date 1190 A. D. If he be distinguished from Kṛtajaya II, the date of the latter must fall after 1222 A. D. Is it possible then that the present case is similar to that of the *Sumanasāntaka*? If Kṛtajaya be the same person as Jayākṛta, Panuluh can be placed in the reign of one of them. In that case it will not be proper for us to identify the author of the *Harivaṃśa* with that of the *Ghaṭoṭkacāśraya*. Provisionally we shall regard Mpu Panuluh, the writer of the *Ghaṭoṭkacāśraya* as a different person, who flourished c. 1200 A. D. The supposition of two poets of the same name flourishing within 50 years need not be taken as a serious objection, because examples can be adduced from the history of Indian literature to prove the contemporaneity of different writers of identical names.

We shall now describe another important *Kawi*-work, viz., the *Arjunavivāha*.⁴ It runs into 36 cantos, and the main outline of the poem may be described in the following

1 Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, Vol. II, p. 179; N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 180.

3 N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

4 Vide Friederich, *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 18; *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, XXIII, 1850; *Journal Asiatique*, 1858, pp. 274, 394; Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. I., 1830, pp. 429ff; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 113ff; Vreede, *Cat. Van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, p. 391; Brandes, *Beschr. der Jav. Bal. en Sas. Hss. Tuuk*, 1, pp. 113ff; Kern, *Kawi-studien*, 1871; *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1926, dl. 82, pp. 181-305.

manner. The first *sarga* opens with an account of the demon-king, Nivātakavaca, who was a constant source of fear to Indra and other gods of heaven. His fortress stood on the Southern foot of the Mount Meru, and was known as Maṇimāntaka.¹ He could not be defeated by gods, Yakṣas, Asuras and Ṛṣis.² This was the boon he received from the Highest God.

The attention of gods was, therefore, naturally directed to the mortal hero Arjuna, who was undergoing austere penances on the Indrakila hill. To test the mettle of Arjuna and to see if he was equal to the task, Indra decided to send him a bevy of divine courtesans, of whom Tilottamā and Suprabhā were the foremost. The seven nymphs, after making *Sembaḥ*, i. e., salutation to the king of gods, flew through the air and reached the Indrakila hill by the morning. The poet then offers a description of the surrounding landscape.

The second canto continues the description of the natural scenery and gives an account of the toilette made by the nymphs to meet Arjuna. The next *sarga* opens with the description of Arjuna and his penances. The poet relates in canto IV how the nymphs tried to beguile him for three nights and how they returned to heaven after their fruitless endeavour. All the gods were overjoyed at the report of the celestial nymphs; because they now discovered in him the true saviour of all inmates of heaven. When Arjuna had stood the test of the above ordeal, Indra decided to examine the depth of his philosophical acumen and we find him appearing in canto V before Arjuna in the disguise of an old ascetic. The conversation of these two ascetics is fully described in the following *sarga*. In strophe VI of this song, Indra assumes his own appearance and is honoured by the ascetic prince. The seventh canto opens with the invasion of the demons, who were temporarily pacified, as the poet says, by *sāma* and *dāna*. The demons suspected this to be a trick of the gods to

gain a breathing space and they accordingly sent spies throughout the length and breadth of the three worlds. A deaf spy brought information that Pārtha was making penances on the Indrakila hill and he was sought by the gods. Nivātakavaca thereupon sent Si-Murkha to kill him and the giant, assuming the form of a boar, began to shatter the hill-sides. Arjuna, disturbed in his penances, took his bow and shot an arrow, which brought about the death of the giant. Now that Pārtha's *Yoga* was reaching fruition, Nilakaṇṭha appeared in the disguise of a Kirāta or hunter. In canto VIII we find the two quarrelling, for the hunter had also discharged an arrow and had abused the teacher of Arjuna. Arjuna, however, desired to forgive him if he took back his word and paid him due homage. As the hunter would do neither, the fight began between the two and this is described through the following canto. Towards the close of this *sarga*, the poet presents Kirāta in his Ardhanārīśvara form seated on a padmāsanamaṇi. The prayers of Arjuna are then described up to the end of *sarga* XI. In the first strophe of canto XII, we find Śiva giving him the powerful *paśupati*-weapon. He also left some instructions with Arjuna on the Science of War. As Pārtha was now home-sick, he was thinking of returning to his brothers and relatives, when a letter came from India. Accompanied by the two Apsarasas, Airāvata and Vajra, Arjuna proceeded towards heaven. The poet describes in canto XIV how the gods of heaven became gladdened like plants and ivy creepers, which dance in glee on the approach of rains in the month of Kāpaka. Arjuna paid his homage to the king of gods, who was conferring with Bṛhaspati about statecraft. In the sixteenth strophe we find Indra suggesting to Arjuna that he should unravel the mystery that hangs over the power of Nivātakavaca. For this purpose Indra asked him to go to Maṇimāntaka along with Suprabhā. After passing through many countries¹, the natural scenery of which the poet describes

with some picturesqueness, we find the two alighting on Maṇimāntaka. The sixteenth canto describes the preparations of demons for invading heaven. The poet describes here a lively conversation between Supravā and Arjuna, who were now in deep love. In the following *sarga*, Suprabhā announced herself, and she was introduced to Nivātakavaca, who had tried in vain to secure her from the king of gods (canto XVIII). While flirting with the king of demons, she learnt with much satisfaction that the magic of his strength lay on the point of his tongue. Now that the object of her mission was fulfilled, she vanished from Maṇimāntaka. The poet describes this episode in the nineteenth canto. The following *sarga* opens with a commotion in the citadel of the demon-king and we find him marshalling his soldiers for the destruction of heaven. In canto XXI, the poet describes how Krudhākṣa, Duṣkṛta, Virakta and Karālavaktra, his trusted ministers, all hailing from the family of Hiranyakaśipu and Kālakeya, made preparations for the coming war. In the fifth strophe of this canto, the name of Kāmandaka appears as one versed in statecraft. Meanwhile, preparations were also set on foot in heaven and, among the prominent heroes, we come across the names of Indra, Citraṅgada, Citrasena, Jayanta,¹ Arjuna and others (canto XXIII). In the following *sarga*, we find a gigantic clash between the two armies meeting in a flat space between two ravines on the "King of Mountains." The vicissitudes of the war are described in the next two cantos (XXV—XXVI). The poet narrates that on one occasion while Arjuna feigned reeling down in his chariot after catching a missile hurled at him, the demon-king came to attack him. Immediately an arrow whizzed into his mouth and he was killed (canto XXVII). The poet describes the jubillation in heaven in the following *sarga*. Arjuna then retired to the Nandana-forest² and assumed the sovereignty of heaven for seven

1 The oldest son of Indra.

2 Canto XXIX.

days.¹ He was consecrated with the water of a hundred bathing places which were mixed up in seven diamond vases. The following five *sargas* describe somewhat freely the amours of Pārtha with Menakā, Suprabhā, Tilottamā and others. In the last canto we find Arjuna taking leave of Indra, who ordered Mātali to conduct him in his celestial car to his brothers in the cloister of Vadari, which Arjuna reached in due time. The main theme is also referred to in the Old-Javanese Agastyaparva.²

This is, in short, the main story of the *Arjunavivāha*.³ Dr. Brandes³ has remarked that this work betrays some Buddhistic influences. This is not, however, unadulterated Buddhism, but rather a curious mixture of Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Tāntrism. In the third canto, for example, we find Arjuna absorbed in deep meditation; he sat cross-legged, his hands rested on his breast, and his eyes were fixed on the point of his nose. As the poet says,⁴ he was lost in the 'void', he heard 'nothing' and was pure like 'nothing.' Indeed Indra is made to remark,⁵ "If you love 'nothing', you will find 'nothing'." These references do not particularly smack of Buddhism, because we find such ideas not only in Vajrayāna but also in the school of Brāhmaṇical Tāntrism. The lectures on *ahimsā* by Indra⁶ and Śiva⁷ again are not the peculiar traits of Buddhists alone. The doctrines of *Daśaśīla* and *Nirvāṇa*, however, are purely Buddhistic. But when this Buddhistic Nirvāṇa has to be obtained through the worship of Śiva, the whole idea becomes corrupted.⁸

R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka⁹ has noted already that the

1 As the poet says, this is equal to seven months of the mortal world.

2 Ed. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggeluran*, p. 321.

3 *Tjandi Djago*, p. 98.

4 3/7.

5 6/2.

6 5/6

7 8/3.

8 An excellent analysis of these Śiva-hymns has been made by Dr. C. C. Berg in *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1933, dl. 90, pp. 173 ff.

9 *Bijdragen, T. L. VK.*, 1926, dl. 82, p. 183.

major episodes of the *Arjunavivāha*, e.g., the asceticism of Arjuna and his fight with Śiva who appeared in the disguise of a hunter have been borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*. The idea of introducing nymphs to beguile Arjuna was borrowed from other parts of the *Mahābhārata* and these forms were fused together in the *Arjunavivāha* kakawin. In the arrangement of episodes, the writer of this work makes some departure from his original. According to R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka,¹ this has to be attributed to his originality and not his lack of knowledge in Sanskrit. The work contains some later interpolations and, in the Balinese recension of this work, some liberty has been taken with the spelling of proper names. The work has some *ḥidung* and New-Javanese recensions.²

In the last strophe of the last *sarga* the poet says of himself:

“Finished is the description of the story, which bears the name of *Arjunavivāha*. This is really the first time that Mpu Kanva writes a poem and places it before the public. He is yet uneasy of mind, because he has to accompany the king in his wars. He pays his homage to His Majesty Airlangga, who has doubled his kingdom and has graciously accepted this work.”

Thus ends the work of the Javanese Bhāravi, who composed his work towards the beginning of the 11th century A. D. It is the first poem of Java, which can be dated with some certainty. In the third terrace of the Caṇḍi Jago, which is variously known as Caṇḍi Tumpang and Jajagu, we find representations from the *Arjunavivāha*.

The theme of the *Arjunavivāha* has been spun further in the Middle-Javanese *Wangbang Astuti*,³ written in

1 *Ibid.*

2 For New-Javanese recensions, see J. F. C. Gericke's "*Wiwoho of Mintoogo, Een Javaansch gedicht*" in *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, XX; Dr. W. Palmer van den Broek, "*Wiwoho Djarwo*" (Batavia, 1868); also Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, pp. 9-10.

3 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 265 ff.

Macapat metre. In some respects, it agrees with the accounts of the *Kuntīyajña*.¹ The former states that Kuntī, Dharmmavaṃśa, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva were very anxious over the long absence of Arjuna and accordingly, Bhīma was sent to search for him on the Indrakila hill. As he returned without Arjuna, Kuntī prepared to commit herself to the flames along with her sons. At this juncture, arrived Nārada with the joyful news that Arjuna was married in heaven with the celestial nymph Suprabhā. At last Arjuna alighted on the earth, but he had to settle accounts with the rākṣasa Purbaka of Karang Gumantung, whose fury was fanned by the death of Nivātakavaca. After killing this demon, Arjuna assumed the name of Wangbang Astuti and repaired to a place called Vanasaba. Its princess Śrīgati was sought in marriage by the daitya-chief Madhūsudana (Madhusūdana). After a duel between the two, the laurel was won by Wangbang Astuti, who married the princess. But as fate would have it, the hero died sometime later on and his corpse dropped in the pleasure-garden of Anantabhoga, the king of dragons. The latter had the goodness to revive him and get him married with his three daughters. Kṛṣṇa then sent his *caṭra* or wheel to bring Arjuna back from the Nether-world. After the death of Madhusūdana, the Pāṇḍavas went to find out a white *ḥidang* to offer it as a sacrifice to their departed father. On their way, they met a rākṣasa, Kāla Bhuvana by name, who, killed by Bhīma, appeared in the form of Viṣṇu. The latter informed them that Jagatkāraṇa was in possession of the white *ḥidang*. As its owner would not yield the *ḥidang*, a fight ensued between Arjuna and Jagatkāraṇa, in which both were killed. The Vidyādhariṣ now appear on the scene to revive the fallen heroes and it comes to light that Jagatkāraṇa is the son of Arjuna by Suprabhā and the lieutenants of the third Pāṇḍava are no other than the issue of the three nāga-daughters. The poem ends in a scene of reconciliation.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

The story, as told here, is wholly foreign to Sanskrit literature. Though names and particular episodes can be traced to India, the main outline of the story has been manufactured by the author himself. Arjuna appears here in the lime-light and the powerful deities of heaven have been described, as if they were his sons.

The temple of Caṇḍi Jago¹ also depicts the story of the *Pārthayajña*. P. V. van Stein Callenfels² has sought to identify the reliefs with the help of this *ḥawi*-work. It runs into 44 cantos and the first one opens with an invocation to the Highest God. The poet also invokes the god of Love. The second song introduces us to the main theme of the book, which illustrates a moral aphorism, viz., how men become unhappy by playing dice. Yudhiṣṭhira, for example, possessed everything, but he lost his whole kingdom to the Kauravas who played the game fraudulently. Kuntī was upset by the upshot of the play, while the princess Draupadī was stripped of her last raiment by Śakuni, who, in the presence of many men, pulled her by the hair. Draupadī promised at that time that her dishevelled hair would be knotted only when it was drenched in the blood of Duryodhana. Bhīma, highly insulted, promised to break the thigh of Duryodhana in fight. In this manner, the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, though cousins, never more lived in peace and amity. Yudhiṣṭhira, in consequence, prepared to go to the forest and remain there for twelve years. The next three cantos (III—V) describe how the Pāṇḍavas thenceforth became ready for the unavoidable war. In the sixth canto we find Arjuna preparing to perform hard austerities. It was mid-

1 In it Raṅgavuni, i.e., king Viṣṇuvardhana (1250-1272 A.D.) was entombed. It dates, therefore, from the middle of the 13th century. Vide Brandes, *Tjandi Djago*, p. 1.

2 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, 1919, dl. LVIII, pp. 361-379.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 380-387; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jar. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 140.

night and the third Pāṇḍava must depart in the following morning. At that moment Vidura came to them, and shortly afterwards ṛṣi Domya (Dhaumya) announced his arrival. As Yudhiṣṭhira broke his sorrows to them, the sage consoled him by saying (canto VII) that the Pāṇḍavas being virtuous must get the better of their enemies. His long lectures are continued through the following *sarga*, in which the sage advised Arjuna to please the Highest God with his austerities. Yudhiṣṭhira offered his thanks to the holy sage, who left instructions with Arjuna, asking him to follow the course to the Indrakila hill, where he would find the ṛṣi Dvaipāyana. Morning broke in unclouded splendour and Arjuna, after receiving the blessings of his mother and the loving farewell of Draupadī, proceeded on his journey (canto IX). All wept over the departure of Arjuna, who set out with his weapons to perform penances (canto X). The poet then offers a description of the surrounding landscape and of the women who remained behind. A whole canto—the twelfth—has been devoted to the description of the fields, hills, ravines, trees and plants, which Arjuna had to pass. The theme is continued in the following song, which describes cottages ornamented with scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the ‘flowers of those cottages’—those lovely women who formerly graced the *kratons* with their very presence. In the fourteenth canto we find these maidens enquiring about the destination of Arjuna and the latter replying to them with proper courtesy. He came to learn that the place was called Vanavatī and the name of the hermit, who lived there, was Mahāyaṇi.¹ A lady who fell in love with Arjuna at first sight concealed herself behind the pillars. The young ascetic, accompanied by the bevy of girls, went to Mahāyaṇi who greeted him in warm terms. After Arjuna had received fruits and *sirih*, he was questioned about the aims he had in view. The following two cantos (XV—XVI), describe the conversation of the two hermits.

In the seventeenth *sarga*, the poet introduces a romantic

1 The name bears Buddhistic trace.

touch. The lady who in the preceding canto had concealed herself behind the columns and was known as Gula-Wuluh stole out under cover of darkness to meet the sleepless Arjuna, who was thinking of his past and future. He stood above all temptations (canto XVIII). The lady turned back weeping after making a *sembah* to the third Pāṇḍava (canto XIX). Arjuna, after taking directions from the Vanavati hermit, proceeded again on his journey. He saw many domestic animals and a sea, whose shore was belted by plants and trees (canto XX). The description of waterfalls and ravines continues in the following song. We are told how sleets shot like arrows and rain poured down in torrents; Arjuna, holding a *senté*-leaf overhead as an umbrella, began to move on. It rained still harder and the whole atmosphere was surcharged with heavy clouds. The scene continues in canto XXII when we find Arjuna resting under a *Waringin* tree. It was cold and dark, sulphurous stones ran against each other with tremendous velocity and fire flashed from them. The weather, however, soon changed and light flooded the scene. The poet finds another opportunity to describe the landscape just after it was purified by the torrents of rain.

We are then introduced to canto XXIII. Evening drew in and a "darkness invisible", to quote a phrase of Milton, wrapped the world. When the Moon shot forth its silver rays, the outline of the dark hills became more distinct. With trees and a clear heaven behind, they appeared like *Wayang*-figures on the canvas. The poet then describes the beauty of the wood now bathed in Moon-shine. The monotonous description of night-animals and the wood proceeds (canto XXIV). The poet compares a great *Raṇḍu* tree swaying in the wind with a dancing giant. In canto XXV, the poet describes a lively conversation between Arjuna and Śrī, the goddess of the *kraton*. The latter informed Arjuna that she had left the palace for the sins of the Kauravas. She promised, however, to return when the penances of Arjuna would obtain fruition. She asked him

to receive *astrarāja* (lit. 'chief of weapons') from god *Kirāta*. Her advice continues through the following canto where she asked Arjuna to be careful, because, Duryodhana had engaged spies after him. Arjuna proceeded again with the dawn.

The poet opens the twenty-eighth canto with a description of the sea. Arjuna saw *Kāma* and *Rati* from a distance and he hid himself behind a great tree. The following canto narrates the love-affairs of these celestial beings. The thirtieth *sarga* again opens with a description of the sea. Arjuna thought that his objects could not be obtained if he had no interview with the god of Love. And accordingly, he related to the deity that he was going to perform austerities. Asked if he would enjoy the beauty of Nature, Arjuna replied that his primary duty was to carry out faithfully the injunctions of his elder brother and obtain a boon from the Great God on the Himālayas. Thus he wanted to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the Pāṇḍavas. In the following canto we find *Kāma* sympathising with the aims of Arjuna, whom he asked to take lessons in *Śivāgama* from Śrī Dvaipāyana. He said that the cloister of the *ṛṣi* stood on the North-eastern side of the Indrakila hill, which would be found in the Eastern region. After cautioning Arjuna against Nalamala, who originated from the tongue of the goddess Durgā, the deities vanished (cantos XXXII-XXXIII). The thirty-third song describes the form of the demon, who had three heads, the right one resembling that of a Garuḍa, the left one that of an elephant and the middle one that of an angry lion. After the disappearance of *Kāma* and *Rati*, Arjuna found there little songs of nymphs inscribed on *Puṣpa* flowers.¹ Nalamala came at the head of a piśāca-army and challenged Arjuna. Their fight forms the kernel of three songs (XXXIV-XXXVI). As Arjuna fell into *Samādhi*, the giant turned back with a promise to wreck vengeance on the Pāṇḍavas (canto XXXVI). The following

1 Cf. Victor Hugo, *Toilers of the Sea*. The girl inscribes her name on sea-sands with the help of a sea-shell.

song gives a description of the wood. Arjuna found a river, where he took his bath. He sat under a tree and began to weep for his mother, brother and others. In canto XXXVIII we find Arjuna thoroughly spent up with thirst and hunger. He refreshed himself with some fruits and his journey began afresh. The meeting of Arjuna and Śrī Dvaipāyana is described in *sarga* XXXIX. The holy sage, who lived in *Īṅitāmṛtapada*, was glad to see Arjuna and enquired about the goal he had in view. Arjuna related the past history and the advice of Vidura and Domya. The advice of the holy sage runs from the fortieth to the forty-third canto. He said that the Kauravas were descended from evil demons and they must be worsted in course of the war. In *sarga* XLII, the sage enunciated that the highest goal was to be obtained through *Negativism*, and he directed Arjuna¹ to go to the Indrakila hill and propitiate the Great God by changing his *vrata* every month. The last canto describes Arjuna's reaching the hill and his penance for one long year. The God then appeared in the disguise of a *ķirāta* and, after giving the celestial weapon, vanished in his proper form.

The book betrays clear traces of Tāntric Śaivism. It is mainly based upon the *Mahābhārata*, but there are episodes in the book which are unmistakably of pure Javanese origin. The girl who fell in love with Arjuna at the hermitage of Mahāyaṇi cannot be discovered in the range of Sanskrit Literature. Arjuna's character has been degraded in comparison with the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*. Though these features may be attributed to the originality of the Old-Javanese author, the main story has been inspired, like the previous one, by the Great Epic of India. The poet's description of natural scenery sometimes reminds us of the writings of Bhavabhūti, but this has occupied an undue space in the work under review.

One *Pārthayajña* stands in the name of Mpu Vidyātmaka. Winter² mentions another *ķawi*-work of the same name

1 Canto XLIII.

2 Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, 1892, p. 227.

describing the marriage of Arjuna and Sumbadra (Subhadra). He says that it was composed by Mpu Kanva during the reign of Jayabhaya¹ of Kediri. The work we have described above is probably mentioned in the Middle-Javanese *Pararaton*. As the subject has been depicted on the temple of Caṇḍi Jago, we provisionally accept 1250 A. D. as the date of this work. The possible margin of error may not exceed a hundred years on both sides.

The *Indravijaya kakawin*,² which we propose to discuss now, has been borrowed from the Udyogaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. In the Sanskrit text, the story, also known by this name, is told in verses CCXXVIII-DLXV. The *kawi*-work opens with an account of the *Suravadhūs*, i. e., nymphs, who were despatched by Indra to spoil the penances of the austere penitent, Triśirāḥ, the son of Tvaṣṭar. The god was thrice baffled in his attempt and at last he ordered Viśvakarman to strike him below the belt. In the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*,³ the name of Takṣa appears in place of the divine architect. After the assassination of Triśirāḥ, his father created Vṛtra and ordered him to kill Indra, who now sought refuge with Viṣṇu. The demon was ultimately killed in a treacherous way. For this sin, Indra had to leave heaven, where the celestial throne fell vacant. At length, Nahuṣa was persuaded to rule over heaven. Now this up-start divine mortal, no longer satisfied with the sceptre of heaven, wanted to possess Śaśī, the wife of Indra. The panicky queen fled to Bṛhaspati, who refused to yield her to the new sovereign of heaven. Śaśī was escorted to Indra's sleeping chamber by a female-

1 Airlangga?

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. 1, p. 137; cf. also Juynboll, *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata in Kawi-tekst en Nederlandsche vertaling vergeleken met den Sanscrit tekst*, pp. 19-20; *Actes du 6e congrès des Oriental Section aryenne*, pp. 81-121.

3 Juynboll, *Drie Boeken van het Oudjavaansche Mahabharata*, etc., p. 19.

attendant called Rātri. Indra suggested that if Nahuṣa could relegate ascetics to the position of *vāhanas*, then the newly-created king of heaven would incur the displeasure of the holy sages and this would bring about his downfall. Matters turned out exactly as Indra foresaw. The curse of Agastya turned him out of heaven and Indra again became the ruler.

The *Kidung Bhīmasvarga*¹ is a curious combination of episodes taken from the Ādi and the Prasthānikaparva of the Old-Javanese *Mahābhārata*. The work is very popular in the island of Bali. It has also a prose-recension in Malay² and, according to Dr. Juynboll, *Cod.* 4132 of this work has been written in mixed Javanese and Balinese languages. The contents of this book may be described in the following manner. The poem opens with—

“*Bagawan Kidāma mangke muwah ameng-amengan maring wanāntara, sira ngelor, tandwa katmu punang kenas istri listw ayu rupane—*”

The name Kidama, given above, is a corruption of the well-known Sanskrit name Kindama who, while having carnal commerce in the shape of a deer, was shot to death by Pāṇḍu. The sage Kindama died cursing Pāṇḍu to go to hell. This Pāṇḍu-Kindama episode occurs both in the Sanskrit³ as well as the Old-Javanese⁴ versions of the *Mahābhārata*. According to Dr. Juynboll,⁵ the manner in which the death of Pāṇḍu has been described here agrees in all essential points with relevant portions of the Ādiparva, which may, therefore, be the source. Pāṇḍu's widow Kuntī spurred her five sons to fetch their father from hell or *kawah*. Bhīma carried his mother and brothers; the clowns Delem, Tuwalen and Sangut, who are Balinese prototypes of the Javanese Semar and his two sons, accompanied them.

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 267 ff; also, *J. R. A. S., New Series*, XIII, p. 51 ff; *Album—Kern*, pp. 73 ff.

2 Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss.*, 1899, pp. 56-58, *Cod.* 3377.

3 *Mbh.*, *Adi*, 118/4585.

4 Juynboll, *Adiparwa*, p. 116.

5 *Album—Kern*, p. 73.

Bhīma fought with Cikarabala,¹ Gora Vikrama, Utpata, Jogor Manik, Suratma, Dorakālas and the hell-dog Asu gaplong. At last, Bhīma was able to rescue the soul of Pāṇḍu from hell.

The second canto begins with the story of Yang Pra-meṣṭi, who extended invitation to the Pāṇḍavas to come to heaven. They were thereupon killed by the gods. Arjuna, for example, was killed by Viṣṇu, Nakula and Sahadeva by Mahasno (*read*, Mahāśvinau). Dr. Juynboll² thinks that this portion of the *Bhīmasvarga* has been borrowed from the Prasthānikaparva, particularly from the corrupt portions of that work. On the other hand, some passages from the first canto of the *Bhīmasvarga* have been interpolated in some Mss. of the Old-Javanese Prasthānikaparva.³ The third *sarga* describes how Dharmmavaṃśa entered the regions of hell and how he was ultimately rescued by his younger brother Bhīma. The last canto narrates the fight of Bhīma with *butapatih* Bandayuta, who had swallowed up his *panakawan* Tuwalen. According to Dr. Van der Tuuk, all figures from this work have been put in *Wayang*-form.

The idea that the soul can be recalled from the region into which it departed is present in many places of Indo-Javanese literature. We have already discussed the story of *Kuñjaraḥarṇa* with its ethical bearings. The Balinese *Megantaka* also describes how the soul of the dead princess Hambarasari was brought back from heaven by two celestial nymphs, Suprabhā and Tilottamā.⁴ Like the famous *Epic of Gilgames* in ancient Babylonia, we have stories of Sāvitrī and Satyavān, Vehulā and Lakṣmīndara, etc. It is difficult to say, however, if these traits were borrowed from India

1 According to Van der Tuuk, this is equivalent to *Kiṅkaravala*. Vide *J.R.A.S., New Series*, XIII, p. 51ff.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 268; *Album—Kern*, p. 74.

3 *Album—Kern*, p. 74.

4 *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XXXVIII, p. 392ff.

or they owed their origin to some exotic conceptions of the Spirit world.

The *Koravāśrama*¹ is a prose-work, which draws its main inspiration from the latter portions of the *Mahābhārata*. It opens with the glorification of Bhagavān Vyasa, who related the *Śvarasatipurāṇa*. It describes how Dhṛtarāṣṭra was deeply mortified with the death of the hundred Kauravas. Vyasa², therefore, went to the field of battle with his disciples, viz., Sumantu, Pelava, Jemili and Wwesampayana. There they met Bhagavān Narada, who had received orders from Bhagavān Bṛhaspati to re-animate the Koravas. The group viewed the corpse of Bhiṣma, Droṇa, Śalya, Duryodhana, Karṇa, Śakuni, Jayadratha, Bhagadata and Duśāsana. To revive them, *tirtha kamaṇḍalu* was sprinkled over their mangled bodies. The gods, to whom they respectively owed their origin, appeared at the time of their re-animation. The revival of the whole army was due to the besprinkling of the *tirtha amṛttha*. On hearing a celestial voice, Bhiṣma advised the Koravas to take to asceticism for wrecking vengeance on the Pandavas. They therefore proceeded to Indragiri, where they came across Bhagavān Viśvakarma, who was cutting wood for the audience-hall of Bhaṭāra Caturbhuja. Meanwhile, Bhagavān Vyasa, asking the Pandavas to instruct Dhṛtarāṣṭra, retired with his four disciples to perform austerities. Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gandari were highly honoured by the Pandavas, though Bhima demurred in showing respects to them. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, took instructions from Dharmmavaṃśa or Yudhiṣṭhira, his nephew, who stated that his knowledge was derived from Prameśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Mahadeva, Dharmmaraja and others. Dhṛtarāṣṭra wanted to be enlightened about the philosophy of Tripuruṣa and the three numbers and

1 T. G. T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, pp. 330-337; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 175, *Cod.* 4255; *Bijdragen T.L.VK.*, dl. 72, pp. 401ff.

2 If the transcription of Dr. Pigeaud is correct, the same name has been differently spelt in various parts of the work.

desired a solution of the mysteries of the world. After that, he asked about the causes of flood and the origin of Mahāmeru—the mountain that was so much honoured by gods and men. Dharmmavaṃśa stated that the Mahāmeru was the Maṇik Aṣṭagina, in its source was to be found *amṛta* and it rested on the Kurmaraja. It was also maintained by Nantaboga, whose body was inlaid with gold and the upper part was decked with jewels. Dharmmavaṃśa described how this Mahāmeru or Sampora was brought over to Java. The author then narrates how murder originated with the assassination of Arjunaśabahu and Bhagavān Bhṛgu. Dhṛtaraṣṭra wanted to be enlightened about the systems of asceticism and his nephew offered instructions on *yoga* and the various *āsanas*. Aṣṭaga, Dāna and Yajña were also succinctly summed up with the remark that the last included devayajña, ṛṣi°, bhuta°, manuṣa°, pitṛ°, aśvaveda° and the īsvajit°. Dhṛtaraṣṭra then asked why the heads of Brahmā have been described as four by some and five by others. Dharmmavaṃśa answered that he had originally five heads but later on they shrank into four. Dhṛtaraṣṭra asked again why Brahmā was called Caturmukha, though he had really five heads. The author proceeds to narrate the story of Huma (Umā), who, on being embraced by a cow-herd, was transformed into Durga.

After the period of coaching was over, Dhṛtaraṣṭra and Devi Gandarī wanted to set out for Śatasṅga. Led by Kṛpa, they came to Bhagavān Rāmaparaśu and his pupil Katravan. There they were entertained with food procured from Menakagiri. After relating to Rāmaparaśu his intention to emulate the example of Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtaraṣṭra distributed his ornaments among the ṛṣis and, putting on bark, took shelter in the tiger-hole of the Śatasṅga.

Meanwhile, Devavrata and the Koravas came to Mahendragiri. After being entertained by Rāmaparaśu, they enquired about the best places for performing penances and sought instruction on *dharma*. Bhiṣma, Droṇa and Śalya meanwhile distributed their ornaments, put on bark

and repaired to Gaṇḍamadana. Among other heroes of the Bhārata war, Driyodana, Śakuni, Karṇa, Durśasana and Bhagadato took instructions from Rāmaparaśu, who described how Indra was compelled to take the help of Viṣṇu against some demons, *viz.*, Mali, Hemali and Sumali. Viṣṇu killed the first two with his *caṅkṛa* or wheel, but the last fled to Bharuṇa. The author then propounds the view that gods became beautiful by catching a reflex from the beaming forms of Viṣṇu and Śrī. Bhaṭāra Guru became envious of the beauty of Śrī and assumed the form of Kāla. Śrī thereupon fled to the earth and sought shelter with merchants. Duryodhana then asked about the best place for conducting *tapas*; for Bhaṭāra Brahma had asked him to wreck vengeance on the Pandavas. Karṇa also wanted to be enlightened about the *hongkarakas*. In reply Rāmaparaśu referred to the *pāñca*, *sapta* and *astakahangkara*-mantra. After putting some more questions as to why men honour animals, the number of islands and the depth of the sea —Karna, Duryodhana, Bhagadata, Śakuni and Durśana went to perform *tapas*. At last Brahma appeared and Duryodhana asked the boon of killing the Pandavas. Brahma replied that they could not be killed. But they would be humbled by the *candalas*. Duśasana also received the same answer from Śiva, who appeared with three eyes and four arms. Asked about the different *loṅkas*, Aditya, who came later on, replied that they were the Janaloka, Narakaloka, Dabyaloka, Bhuḥloka, Saśvargaloka, Viṣṇuloka and Śūnyaloka. Among the Netherworlds, Aditya referred to Raṣatala, Mahitala and Sūtala.

It will appear from the above review that the work is a hybrid composition consisting of different elements. It draws some materials from the Epics and the cosmogonical sections of Old-Javanese literature. The *Ādipurāṇa* and the *Tantu Panggelaran* furnish the episodes of *tīrtha kamaṇḍalu* and *amṛta*, which find place in this work. The heroes of the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war, however, have been portrayed here in an original light. Similarly, the beauty of Śrī, of which we hear so much, not only enchanted Rahvana,

of the *Serat Kaṇḍa* but also some figures of the *Manik Maya*. The story of the *Hariśraya* has also been suggested here, though some of the names have been corrupted. The problems regarding the number of heads of Brahmā are discussed in the pages of this work as well as in the *Tantu Panggelaran*. Some new gods also appear in this work. The book further furnishes a list of the parvans of the *Mahābhārata*, but it serves no useful purpose, because in the list we not only find the name of the *Agastyaparva* but also the *Uttarakṣhāṇḍa*. Some Krama-forms and interjections have been used in the *Koravāśrama* and the *Kuñjaraḥaṇa*, and it is possible that these works were composed in the fourteenth century A. D. The *Koravāśrama* has also a *kidung* recension.¹

Let us next consider the *Kṛṣṇāntaka*, an Old-Javanese poem based on some of the last books of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Van der Tuuk² says that the work is based on the last four parvans of the *Mahābhārata*. Dr. Juynboll³ rightly objects to the view on the ground that the author has not handled the *Svargārohaṇaparvan* in his work. The first four cantos⁴ of this book are based on the *Āśramavāsa-parvan*, while the following twenty draw their main inspiration from the *Mosalaparvan*. The *Prasthānika-parvan* has been utilised in cantos XXV-XXXIV. The author has mentioned his source in the tenth strophe of the thirty-fourth song, which also gives the name of the work. It has also a prose-recension. As is to be expected, descriptions of natural scenery in the poetical recension are more elaborate than in the Old-Javanese prose-works of the *Mahābhārata*. Cod. 4258 of this work ends with some Sanskrit formulas in honour of Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī.

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 235.

2 *Kawi-Baīn. Wdb.*, Vol. II, p. 90; *J.R.A.S., New Series*, XIII, p. 49.

3 Vide, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 155.

4 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 6th Series VI, 1899, pp. 214-227.

Properly speaking, this book brings us to the close of our studies on the *Mahābhārata*-cycle of stories in Java and Bali. From the tenth century of the Christian era to the fall of Majapahit c. 1478 A. D., the *Mahābhārata* exerted a pronounced influence on the minds of the *Kawi* writers. The wealth of materials in the *Mahābhārata* is as varied as it is interesting and this has been greatly responsible for its popularity. Indeed, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāratayuddha* and the *Bhomaḥvya* were so popular that some of the prominent figures in the above works were allegorically interpreted in the compositions called *Prastuti ning kakawin*¹ and *Wayangan*.²

From the fall of Majapahit to the present time, there has not been any similar activity in the domain of literature. Artificiality in literature deepens during this period and an epoch of translation from the *Kawi*-works lengthens the shadows of the coming decline. Though some activities are noticeable under the Jasa di Puras in the beginning of the last century, they are not on a par with the works of their classical forefathers. Indeed, the five centuries, viz., c. 900-1400 Śaka, form an epoch by itself, which is in refreshing contrast to the preceding and following periods of Indo-Javanese history. This classical period of Indo-Javanese literature has been what the Augustan Age has been in the Roman and the Periclean Age in the Greek history. Of these two, the Augustan Age forms a closer parallel. For just as the Roman literature of this period was overwhelmed by Greek thought and philosophy, so the literature of Java and Bali bears the permanent stamp of the Indian genius that made a cultural conquest of the lands that "wind and twine about the equator like a chaplet of emeralds".

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 286.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 265.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EPIC LITERATURE AND WAYANG STORIES

The term *Wayang* literally means 'shadow.' It is derived from the root *Yang*, to which the prefix *wa* has been added. In modern Javanese, the prefix *wa* has no function and, therefore, Dr. Hazeu postulates that the word is very old and pertains to a time when the above prefix had some significance.¹ The term corresponds to the Sanskrit *Chāyānāṭaka*, a literary *genre* that has found no welcome place in Sanskrit Dramaturgy. Though there are at least seven Indian works belonging to this category, the earliest of them, *viz.*, the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhāṭa,² has to be placed, according to its *prastāvanū* or prologue, in the reign of Tribhuvanapāladeva, a Cālukya king of Aṇḍhīlī (1242-1243 A. D). Pischel³ has succeeded in offering the true interpretation of the *Chāyānāṭaka*. It appears that the Sanskrit *Chāyānāṭaka* is the analogue of the Javanese *Wayang Purva*. In the present chapter we shall try to determine their mutual connexion. It will also be our endeavour to discuss the influence of Sanskrit Epics on the *Wayang* literature of Java and Bali. It is noteworthy, however, that we do not find anything in Indonesia corresponding to the modern conceptions of the 'drama.'

The Javanese shows may be classified under seven categories: (1) The *Wayang Purva*, in which leather-puppets project their shadows on a canvas, which is technically called *Kelir*; (2) The *Wayang Gedog*, which is differentiated from the rest by the *repertoire*; (3) the *Wayang*

1 G. A. J. Hazeu, 'Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Javaansche tooneel,' 1897, pp. 20-21.

2 J. A. O. S., Vol. XXXII, pp. 58-63.

3 Pischel, *Das altindische Schattenspiel*, in *Sitzungsber. Königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1906, pp. 482-502.

Kelitik or *Karucil*, in which flat wooden puppets are represented ; (4) The *Wayang Golek*, in which clothed round puppets are shwon ; (5) The *Topèng*, which is demonstrated by masked persons ; (6) The *Wayang Wong*, in which actors are not masked and they themselves speak ; (7) The *Wayang Bèbèr*, in which plates portraying various scenes are unfolded.

Let us take up the *Wayang Purva*, which is probably the oldest of the seven groups described above. The term *Purva* is generally believed to be derived from the *Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which lent its enormous resources to the *Wayang* literature of the Archipelago. Shadows of fantastic and monstrous figures¹ are projected on a canvas usually with a red border and this is stretched out on a wooden frame called *Panggung*. Behind the canvas hangs a brass-lamp, which is technically called *Blencong*. Under it sits the *dalang*, whose functions are wider than those of the *Sūtradhāra* of Sanskrit dramas. Close to him stands an oblong four-sided chest called *Kotak*, which contains accessories of shadow-plays, such as, weapons, horses, etc. When the *dalang* raises mimic battle-cries, he strikes two or three metal plates (*keprak*, *kepyak* or *kecrek*), attached to the chest. In his left hand, he holds a hammer of wood or a horn (*tabuh keprak* or *cempala*) to guide the musician sitting behind him. When the shadows are projected on the canvas, the *dalang* speaks in the rôle of persons, whom the shadows and puppets represent. He also recites some descriptions and *suluks*; the latter is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit 'śloka.' Dr. Stutterheim² supposes that the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* was the fountain-head of these so-called *suluks*. As people became less accustomed to the *Kawi*-speech, these *suluks* were

1 Reproductions of them may be seen in J. Kats, *Het Javaansche tooneel*; also *Handelingen van het eerste congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java*, 1919, Abrecht & Co., Weltevreden, 1921, etc.

2 *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, p. 66.

probably misapplied to heroes and heroines appearing in various rôles. When giants appeared on the scene, *suluks* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were readily cited whether they were appropriate to the occasion or not.¹ The *ḍalang*, in such cases, modulated his voice according to various characters of the drama.² At present the arrangement of seats is that men sit by the side of the *ḍalang*. They are, therefore, in a position to see both the puppets as well as the shadows they throw. Women, on the other hand, sit opposite the canvas, and accordingly they see nothing but shadows. Even now in Bali, Lombok and W. Java, men and women sit together before the canvas.³

Let us now trace the antiquity of the institution from early times. In an inscription of 762 Śaka (840 A. D.), we find the words *Juru banjol*, *Laringgit* and *Abanjol* and they may doubtfully be connected with shadow-plays. According to Dr. Kern, the word *Juru barata* occurring in an inscription of 782 Śaka (860 A. D.), may signify Wayang-player or *ḍalang*. Prof. Vreede says that the beginning of the Balinese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* shows the influence of Wayang-shows. The first definite reference, which can be dated with some certainty, occurs in the *Arjunavivāha-kakawin*, a work composed in the reign of Airlangga in the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. Doubts may be entertained regarding references in earlier inscriptions, but the work under review explicitly states:—

“*Hanānonton ringgit manangis asekel mūda hiḍepan*”⁴, i.e., It is like some one who sees the Wayang and ere long begins to weep.

Similarly, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Yogīśvara (24/112), the *Sumanasāntaka* (27), the *Vṛttasañcaya* (Str. 93), the *Bhārata-*

1 H. H. Juynboll, *Het Javaansche tooneel*, pp. 29-30.

2 Serrurier, *De Wajang Poerwa, eene ethnologische studie*, 1896, pp. 95-96, 106-112; Hazeu, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

3 *Vide*, *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., pp. 395-396.

4 *Vide*, *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. 82, 1926, p. 200; *Arjunavivāha*, 5/9.

yuddha (Str. 664) and the *Tantu Panggelaran* (34)¹ suggest the prevalence of shadow-plays. The Old-Javanese *Rāmavijaya* (7/12) also betrays traces of the same. A copper plate of 1058 A. D., discovered in the island of Bali, also speaks of *Aringgit* or Wayang.

It would appear from the above references that shadow-plays were current in Java in the first half of the eleventh century A. D. Indeed, these became so popular in the following century that poets began to borrow comparisons from shadow-plays. Thus, Mpu Tanakung wrote in the *Vṛttasañcaya*² :—

“Mountains produced the impression as if their trees were puppet-figures ; the fine transparent mist was, as it were, the canvas ; the hollow bamboos through which the wind passed were, as it were, the soft murmuring *tuḍungans* ; the warbling of quails, which was harmoniously relieved by the soft echo of stags, was, as it were, the *Sarons* ; the tunes of lovely peacocks yielded the *Madraka-song*”

Shadow-plays were so old at the time of the present *Tantu Panggelaran*³ that people eager to offer an explanation of their origin connected them with the visit of gods. From the survey we have made above, it would appear that shadow-plays existed in the beginning of the 11th century A. D. and that orchestra was used in Wayang-plays of the mid-twelfth century. According to Dr. Hazeu, the musical instruments of this time consisted of *tuḍung*, *saron*, *ḡamanak*, etc. In the *Wayang Purva*, musicians play with *Gamelan Salèndro*, while *Gamelan Pélog* is customarily used in the *Wayang Gedog*. Some scholars think that the *Salèndro-scale* is derived from Bengal, but the point is contested by others.⁴

1 Cod. 2212 Warn. Leg.

2 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IX, pp. 12, 174.

3 Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, p. 170.

4 J. Kunst and C. J. A. Kunst van Wely, *De toon-kunst van Bali*, 1925, pp. 170-175 ; *Bijdragen T. L. F.K.*, dl. 89, 1932, pp. 110-116.

Dr. Hazeu¹ thought that these shadow-plays were indigenous in Java long before 950 Śaka (1028 A. D.) and they were even possibly known c. 800 Śaka, if not earlier. Dr. Brandes similarly surmised that Wayang-plays could be placed at about 778 A. D. The main arguments for their view are that the *termini technici* of shadow-plays are very old and unless we push back the date of these shows to c. 800 A. D., we cannot satisfactorily explain the technical terms. These remarks are partially corroborated by the original character of Wayang-shows and by the significance attached to the problems of Semar and his two sons. It has been suggested² that the *dalang* was originally a priest, who offered worship to spirits represented by puppet-shadows cast on the curtain. Indeed, before the scene opens, the *dalang* presents offerings to the spirits and this is technically known as *Sajen*. The burning of frankincense is also of primary importance in the beginning of the play. It has to be noted again that these shows are demonstrated at night, preferably a dark night, when spirits move about the earth in a care-free fashion.³ These plays serve as a means of contact between the living and the dead. With the evolution of finer thoughts and art, these moving shadows of spirits were transformed into fantastic Wayang-figures, which matched the uncouthness and un-manliness of hovering spirits. Even now they have no similarity with men. Peoples of the Archipelago believe that these spirits can do much benefit to human beings if they will and therefore the shows are frequently arranged for curing various diseases. Dr. Hazeu says⁴ that shadow-plays were originally displayed by the head of the family; but in course of time the duty devolved on a class of people, who became known as *dalang*. The details furnished above would become meaningless if we do not assume the origin of

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

2 Hazeu, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 39-57.

3 Day-representations of the *Wayang* are few and far between.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

shadow-plays from the worship of the dead.¹ These two stages in the evolution of Wayang-play must have required at least 200 years, if not more. As the *Arjunavivāha* was composed in the beginning of the 11th century A. D., its early history has to be referred to c. 800 A. D. According to Dr. Hosein Djajadiningrat,² the *Wayang Purva* developed when Śaivism was the predominant religion in Java. This time would naturally fall after 732 A. D. It has been suggested again that Semar and his two sons Petruk and Nalagareng were the heroes of the Javanese stage before they were relegated to the present degraded position of adherents of the Indian Epic heroes. In assuming such a state of things, we have to presuppose the conflict of Indo-Javanese art-techniques and the wide prevalence of knowledge of the main Epic characters of India. As the *Rāmāyaṇa* was well-known in the ninth century A. D., Semar and his two sons are supposed to have ruled the stage before that time. It is difficult now to explain their position in regard to the spirit-worship. If shadow-plays originated from the above cult, Semar and his sons must have been essential factors in the conduct of the service. Otherwise they could have been easily pushed off from the history of the Javanese stage. A conjecture has been put forward that they represent Old-Javanese forefathers in the spirit-worship and the case of Nārada has been taken to illustrate how a god could be transformed into a clown.

Now the problem is, from which country was this shadow play obtained? Is it of indigenous growth, or does it point to exotic influence? Shadow-plays or similar shows were known in India, China, Cambodia, Siam, Malay peninsula, Java, Bali and even in the far-flung Turkey.³ If they

1 According to the communication of Raden Mas Uṭaja to Dr. Hazeu, some *ḡalang*s, before the beginning of the show, crawl into a covered enclosure, where they are supposed to receive inspiration from the spirits.

2 Hosein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, p. 374, instelling no. 28.

3 Cf. The Turkish *garagöz*.

are not the invention of the Javanese peoples, we shall have to trace their origin to those countries which had cultural contact with Java before the 11th century A. D. Excepting Turkey, all the above-mentioned countries can claim that honour. It will be our endeavour to consider this question on its intrinsic merit. Let us take the case of India. Nilakaṇṭha in his commentary on *Rūpopajīvanam* of the *Mahābhārata*¹ writes : "*Rūpopajīvanam jalamaṇḍapikēti dakṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddham, yatra sūkṣmavastraṁ vyavadhāya carmamayairākarai rājāmātyādīnaṁ caryā pradarśyate.*" Though details are lacking, it seems to be a prototype of the Javanese *Wayang*-play, because, we find here both the canvas as well as the leathern puppets. It is noteworthy, however, that shadow-plays are called *Wayang* in Java ; in India, they were known as *Jalamaṇḍapikā* and *Rūpopajīvana*. Though this reference is earlier than the earliest reference in Javanese literature and inscriptions, it is not possible to draw the conclusion that Java obtained her shadow-plays from India. Because, the peoples of that island, who Indianised everything in the classical period of their history, in this instance only have shunned the *termini technici* of Indian dramaturgy for their stage. It is also a noticeable fact that while shadow-plays are not popular in India, they have kept alive the culture of classical Java. For the above reasons, again, we think that India did not borrow from Java ; the *termini technici* of her shadow-plays are purely Sanskritic and not Javanese.² With extant materials, it is premature to theorise on their common origin.

Let us now consider if these shadow-plays were transmitted by the Chinese peoples to Indonesia. According to Prof. Schlegel,³ they were prevalent in China during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty (140-86 B. C.). But in the present state of our knowledge there is no single

1 XII, CCXCV, 5.

2 Cf. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 396. The writer thinks without any adequate reason that India borrowed this show from Java.

3 Quoted by Hazeu, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

evidence to connect the two institutions. As a matter of fact, the important technical terms deviate surprisingly. Besides, these shadow-plays, known as *Pò-tee-hi* in China, were not even popular there. When Fa-hian visited Java-Sumatra in 414 A. D., he did not find any Chinese there. As a matter of fact, Chinese influence does not appear to be of sufficient importance before the 13th century A. D., particularly before the time of Kublai Khan.¹ It is not probable, therefore, that Javanese Wayang-plays should owe their origin to Chinese sources. Far stronger are the reasons to doubt the indebtedness of Java to Siam and Cambodia. Some scholars are of opinion that Javanese influence is greater on the dramaturgy of Siam and Cambodia than the reverse proposition. The word *lakon*, for example, is specifically Javanese and not Siamese, though it has made its way into the language of Siam. Similarly, *Pañji*, known as *Inao* in Siamese stages, is one of the most important figures in Wayang-shows of Java. According to Brandes,² these *Pañji*-stories travelled to Siam and Cambodia from the island of Java. Because, proper names and geographical names in the *Pañji*-romances of Siam and Cambodia³ find their explanation from Java. The names of Koripan, Daha, Cindara or Cindaravati, amongst others, are illustrations of the above. Dr. Hazeu concludes therefore that the shadow-plays are "wholly Javanese and nothing but Javanese."

The Javanese term *lakon*, which is derived from the root *laku*, roughly corresponds to the Greek word "drama". All *lakons* are treated according to fixed rules, enunciated in the *Ugerpedalangan* or Fundamental rules for the guidance of *dalangs*.⁴ All sub-divisions have particular technical

1 Vide Groenveltdt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 20 ff.

2 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXXII, p. 425.

3 Cf. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, t. II, pp. 444-458; cf. also F. W. K. Müller, *Nāṅg, Siamesische Schattenspiel-figuren*, *Supplement to Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, VII.

4 For details vide, *Encyclopaedie Van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., pp. 396 ff.

names, viz., *suluk* (recitation), *pocapan* (conversation), *penantang* (challenge), *prenesan* (language of love), *bañolan* (jesting) and so forth. *Bañolan* is also referred to in inscriptions. It is here that we find Semar and his two sons with their stock of wits at full play. In the island of Bali, which borrowed the Wayang from Java, the rôle of these three clowns have been assumed by Bungut Swah, Mredah, Sengut, Gede Bahag, Twalen, Togok, Breta Abang-disin Setra, Pengakan-noman and Babadudan or Babangudan.

In the evolution of Javanese Wayang literature, six different factors are noticeable :—

- (1) The worship of forefathers or spirits,
- (2) The dramatisation of original Epic heroes,
- (3) The confusion of Mal-Polynesian myths with Indian ones,
- (4) The loss of knowledge in the old language of Java and in the Epic lore of India, synchronizing with Muslim influence which brought about a certain amount of confusion,
- (5) The influence of oral (*wayang*) and written (*lajang*) tradition on each other,¹
- (6) The influence of the people and the time-spirit.

Now, when this Wayang literature of Java is considered in respect of its subject matter, it divides itself into several well-defined groups, viz.

- (1) The Indian Epic cycle ; (2) the Damar Wulan cycle ; (3) the Pañji-cycle and (4) the Amir Hamza cycle. For our purpose, it is necessary to review this Wayang-literature in its relation to the Indian Epic cycle. When analysed, this is distributed over four well-defined groups² :—

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXXII, pp. 368ff; Ed. Brandes, *Pararuton in Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XLIX, 1897, pp. 209-211; Hosein Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, p. 301; Hazeu, *Oud en Nieuw uit de Javaansche Letterkunde*, 1921, pp. 5-6.

2 J. Kats, *Het Javaansche tooneel*, p. 55.

(1) *Early History and Mythology :*

Stories of gods and demons. A substantial portion of them is based upon the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.

(2) *The Rāma-cycle of stories :*

The ultimate source of these stories is the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though they are primarily based upon the *Serat Kaṇḍa* and the *Rama Keling*—the counterparts of the Malay *Hikāiats*.

(3) *The Arjuna-sahasra-vāhu cycle of stories :*

These stories are based upon some personalities from the Rāma-saga.

(4) *The Pāṇḍava-cycle of stories :*

These stories are based upon the *Mahābhārata*. Some figures of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have also been mixed up with this Pāṇḍava-cycle. For example, Hanumān figures as a brother of Vṛkodara in a Pāṇḍava lakon, viz., *Ghaṭotkaca daup ḷalijan Devi Pregiva*.

The *Wayang Purwa* deals with the stories relating to the earliest times of Javanese history. These consist not only of Old-Javanese or pure Mal-Polynesian myths but also of Indian myths which have been worked up into the lakons. We may refer the lakons *Watu gunung*¹ and *Jamur dipa*² to the first category. The latter lakon has been borrowed from the *Manik Maya*, to which also belongs the lakon *Mengukuhan*. Under the same category possibly comes the lakon *Murvaḷala* or *Purvaḷala*, since this show was intended to ward off harm and redeem the sorrows of afflicted persons.³ The *Tantu Panggelaran* has also exercised its influence on some sketches. The lakon *Mintaraga*, on the other hand, is based

1 No. I, *Cod.*, 1979 Leg. Warn.

2 No. 146, *Cod.*, 1979 Leg. Warn.

3 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 397.

the *Mahābhārata*, and it describes the subject of Arjuna's marriage with Subadra (Subhadra), which is the theme of the *Pārthayajña* mentioned by Winter. Nearly related to it is the *Lahire Ghaṭotkaca*, which narrates the birth of that epic-hero. Indeed, a large number of lakons has been borrowed from various sections of the *Mahābhārata*. Kern¹ has shown that the lakon *Obong-obongan bale si galagala* is based upon the *Jatugrhaparva* of the *Ādiparvan*, though the latter portion of the lakon, according to Dr. Juynboll,² reminds one of the *Virāṭaparvan*. Dr. Hazeu has also referred the lakon *Palasara* (Parāsara) to relevant portions of the *Ādiparvan*. Similarly, the lakon *Arimba* draws its main inspiration from the *Hiḍimbavadhaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi) and from the *Harivaṃśam*.³ The lakon *Pāṇḍu* is known to us through the edition of Roorda⁴ and the translation of Van der Vliet.⁵ We should like to offer a short summary of this lakon to illustrate the general characteristics of Javanese Wayang stories. The *dramatis personae* of this lakon are :—

Kunti-boja	... King of Mandura.
Basudeva	} ... His sons.
Ārya-prabu	
Ugrasena	
Kunti Nalavrata	... His daughter, married to Pāṇḍu.
Patah	... Her younger sister, married to Yamavidura.
Mandrapati	... King of Mandaraka.
Narasoma	... His son, married to Satyavati.
Madrin	... Her daughter.
Abiasa	... King of Hastina.
Ambiliki	... His wife.

1 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, dl. X, p. 169.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1895, p. 95.

3 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 6th Series VI, pp. 333-388.

4 *Palasara, Pandu en Raden Pañji*, pp. 111-201.

5 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 4th Series III, 1879, pp. 273-329.

Destarata	}	... Their sons.
Pāṇḍu		
Yamavidura		
Raden Aṅgendara	...	Prince of Gendaridesa.
Devi Aṅgendari	...	His sister, married to Destarata.
Gaṅgaspati	...	Younger brother of Mandrapati, father of Satyavatī.
Narada	...	Messenger of gods.
Togog	...	<i>Panaḱawan</i> of Narasoma.
Semar	} his sons	} Attendants of Pāṇḍu.
Petruk		
Nalagareng		

The legend belongs to the Pāṇḍava-cycle of stories from the *Mahābhārata*. The main interest of the story centres round three persons, viz., Palasara (Parāśara), Abiasa (Vyāsa) and Pāṇḍu—grandfather, son and grandson—whose activities form the nucleus of the Wayang story. Of these three characters, Pāṇḍu is the title-hero and his chivalrous career has lent an additional charm to the main course of the story, which, for the sake of convenience may be divided into four sections.

The first section begins with an account of Devi Kunti (Devī Kuntī), daughter of Kunti Boja, king of Mandura. Abducted by two monsters, Awah Muka and Ari Muka, she was saved by the intervention of the Sun-god, who, enchanted by the loveliness of the princess, had amours with her. As the monsters had made the grim determination of forcibly taking her away, the Sun-god challenged them to fight out the issue. Laurels graced the Sun-god, whose victory relieved the anxiety of Devi Kunti. The first section of this story, therefore, contains the germs of medieval romance—an enchanting princess, a tournament, gallery of fighters, etc. The monsters, who temporarily disappeared from the scene, re-appeared at the *Svayaṃvara* of Devi Kunti.

The second section presents to us the younger brother of Kunti boja named Gaṅgaspati, who had a demoniac figure. He passed the gloomy hours of his life in a secluded

monastery with his beautiful daughter, named Satyavati. Like many a heroine of Bengali folk-tales, Satyavati saw in her dream a stalwart knight-errant, with whom she fell in love. Gaṅgaspati, her father, went out to discover this unknown hero and returned with Narasoma, who was banished by his father, king of Mandaraka, for refusing to marry. Narasoma was utterly amazed to see the loveliness of this maiden. He said, however, that he could not marry the daughter of a person who was more of a monster than a man. So willingly, Gaṅgaspati allowed himself to be killed in cold blood; after this the hero and the heroine began to live together. At this stage, Narasoma was recalled to the court of his father, but he was again exiled on account of the murder he had committed previously. He then proceeded towards Mandura in order to present himself at the *Svayaṃvara* of Kunti mentioned above. He was followed by his sister.

The scene of the third section opens in the kingdom of Astina (Hastinā), where Abiasa was the ruling chief. He had three sons, viz., Destarata, Pāṇḍu and Yamavidura, of whom the first was blind and the last was a cripple. Their father Abiasa was anxious to see them married and, as Pāṇḍu had the best chance of getting a wife, he was sent to the *Svayaṃvara* of Mandura. His father also proceeded thither in an aerial car. After their arrival in Mandura, they found that the *Svayaṃvara* was over and Narasoma, with the help of some charms, had overcome the two giants, Awah Muka and Ari Muka. Being pressed by Abiasa, the king of Mandura arranged a combat between Pāṇḍu and Narasoma. Narasoma used some charms. The young Pāṇḍu, on the other hand, used his *Mṛtasañjivānī* arrow and came off victorious. Narasoma's sister was now given over to the victor. He came with Kunti to his own capital, Astina, where she became the mother of the Pāṇḍavas. Kunti's sister Patah was also in the train of the ladies, who were proceeding to the capital of Pāṇḍu.

The last episode that closes this Wayang story is the meeting of Pāṇḍu with the famous knight-errant Aṅgendara,

prince of Gendaridesa, who was travelling along with his sister Aṅgendari. As our hero got the better of the prince of Gendaridesa, the latter was constrained to give his sister to Pāṇḍu, who thus came home with four princesses, viz., Kunti, Patah, Madrin (sister of Narasoma) and Aṅgendari. He gave his blind eldest brother the liberty of selecting one of these girls and his choice fell on the last. Yamavidura selected Patah, and the remaining fell to the share of Pāṇḍu. The Wayang-story says that Destarata had 150 sons by Aṅgendari, the princess of Gendaridesa.

There are also some lakons based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Dr. Juynboll¹ has discussed a few of them with some valuable results. A comparison of the *Rama saweg wonten ing Mantildireja*, for example, with Javanese and Malay texts has enabled him to state that the source of this lakon is the *Rama Keling*. The story of this work begins after the marriage of Rāma. The *Story of Legutama* similarly gives an account of the earlier history of Sugriva and Suvali, while the *Lembu sura ing negara guva kiskenda* describes the episode of the buffalo. The *Rama Tambak*, *Hanuman Duta*, *Rama Gandrung* and the *Brubok* also belong to Wayang-stories of the Rāma-cycle. Among other lakons, we find the *Lahire Dasamuka*, which describes earlier history and the birth of Dasamuka,² i.e., Rāvaṇa. Nearly related to it is the *Lahire Indrajit*, which narrates how Dasamuka forcibly abducted a *vidadari* from Indra and how she bore him a son named Indrajit. Similarly, the lakon *Dasamuka tapaturu* describes how the pseudo-Maṇḍudari was surrendered to Dasamuka. Here she is known as Devi Rago. The *story of Loṅpala*, on the other hand, handles the story of the defeat of king Visravana by Dasamuka. The fight of Sasrabahu with Dasamuka also forms the kernel of a lakon. In the *Babang Sumantri*, we come across a description of the battle between Dasamuka and the brothers of Sasrabahu.³

1 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. 54, pp. 501-565.

2 This is equivalent to *Daśamukha*.

3 For some of these lakons, vide Stutterheim, *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*, 1924, p. 252.

There are some other lakons belonging to the *Arjuna-sahasra-vāhu-cycle*.

It would appear from the above description that these lakons are of comparatively modern times and that they draw their main inspiration from the later versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, such as the *Serat Kaṇḍa*, the *Rama Keling*, etc. Many lakons are now staged on the occasion of some feasts, e. g., the *tingkeb*-feast and the *Pupak-pusar* feast.¹ Such plays are known as *Serat wawacan* (*Śrīvacan*) or *waosan*. Those of comparatively earlier times are known as *Serat kaṇḍa ringgit*. The *Bandung*, which falls into this category, has been described by Prof. Vreede.²

With this review we bring our discussion on the main Wayang stories of the Indian Epic-cycle to a close. The *Pañji*, *Damar Wulan* and the *Amir Hamza* cycles do not, strictly speaking, come within our purview, because, their sources have been traced elsewhere. To make the picture complete, however, we shall give a brief resume of other forms of Javanese Wayang shows, which are only partially related to Indian Epic-cycles.

After the *Wayang Purva* developed a different type of show, called the *Gedog*, which, according to Serrurier, has to be placed during the palmy days of Majapahit. The meaning of the term is not clear. According to some scholars, *Gedog* means 'horse', because, *Pañji*, the hero of this show, bears titles which signify 'horse', e. g., *Kuda Wanengpati*, *Undakan Wasengsari*, *Inu Jaran*, etc. Some other explanations have been offered, but they are less satisfactory. Both the *Wayang Purva* and the *Wayang Gedog* use leather-puppets, whose shadows are projected on the canvas or screen. The hero of the latter is *Raden Pañji*, the prince of *Janggala*, who is an embodiment of beauty and strength. He is particularly beloved of gods and women. The love-adventures of this prince with

1 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 397.

2 *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, p. 20 ff.

Devi Angreni, Candra Kirana (Sekar Taji) and other princesses, his fight with all sorts of kings, particularly the kings of the overseas, form the subject of dramas staged at the *Wayang Geḍog*. Here also we find the clowns, Semar and his two sons. The dressing of the puppets in the *Wayang Geḍog*, particularly the adornment, is different from that of the *Wayang Purwa*.¹ The *kris* is also used here for the first time. The main difference between these two shows is that while the *Wayang Purwa* draws its materials mainly from the Indian epics, the *Wayang Geḍog* is primarily based upon the Pañji-romances.

The *Wayang Keliṭik* or *Karucil* is not a shadow-play, but a puppet-show. The words are derived from the primary roots *ṭik* and *cil*, which signify "little or trifling." And the title is appropriate, because, in the place of fantastic shadows cast on the screen, peoples see in these shows only little puppets. Thus the name of the show is derived from the puppets and not, as in the first two cases, from the repertoire or the subject-matter staged. By making a four-sided opening in the middle of the canvas, these puppets are shown. Later on, the use of this canvas (*kelir dadakan*) was given up altogether. Some scholars are inclined to believe that this show originated in the Majapahit period. Be that as it may, the *Wayang Keliṭik* has no religious background and, sometimes it continues not only through nights but also through days. It has been mentioned in the Pañji poem *Malat*, which cannot be later than c. 1500 A. D.² The *Wayang Keliṭik* deals with the *Damar Wulan* cycle. Damar Wulan is descended from the groom of the king of Majapahit and he is an exact prototype of the other Don Juan, viz., Pañji. The rôle of Semar and his sons is here performed by Sabda Palon and Naya Geṅgong, two servants of Damar Wulan.³ In this show, we have the music of *Gamelan laras miring*.

1 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 398.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. 38, pp. 457-486.

The same music is played in the *Wayang Golek*, in which round and thick wooden puppets are used. Though the lower part of these puppets is covered with linen, the upper part generally remains bare. It has been conjectured that this show might be an imitation of the *Pò-tee-hi* of the Chinese of South Fuh-kjen.¹ It is popular in West Java and is based upon the stories of the Indian Epic cycle and the *Damar Wulan* cycle.²

In the *Wayang Topèng*, masked persons appear in the rôle of puppets. It is accompanied by song, dance and music. The show appears to be as old as the shadow-play, because, it has not only been explicitly mentioned in the Middle-Javanese Pañji-romance *Malat* (2/15), but also its existence in early times seems to be testified by the *Ādiparva*, the prose-recension of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, an inscription of 980 Śāka, and the *Nāgaraḥṛtāgama* (66/5).³ Though Serrurier⁴ has sought to derive the origin of this show from India, there is no adequate ground for that conjecture. As a matter of fact, such shows were current among various primitive tribes, who had no contact with one another. This show is partly connected with religion, particularly with the performance of funeral rites. In this show, it is customary to play with *Gamelan Salèndro*. When the number of masks was increased to 27, actors introduced in the show the *Story of Jaḡa Semawung*.⁵ A second story, viz., *Jaḡa Bluwo*⁶ was introduced at the time of the foundation of Mataram, when the number of masks was increased to 40. Two other stories called *Jaḡa Peñjaring*

1 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 400.

2 Juynboll, *Catalogus van 's Rijks ethnographisch museum*, dl. XIII (1918), pp. 177-203.

3 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 401.

4 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, 1873, II, p. 5.

5 *Internationales archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. XIV, pp. 50-53.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

and *Kudà Naravaṅsa* were introduced in 1680 A. D. and 1749 A. D. respectively.¹ Pañji is the hero of this show.

The *Wayang Wong* nearly corresponds to the drama of our own times. It developed in the middle of the 18th century A. D. under the auspices of Mangku Negara I. The appearance of men in the place of puppets was looked upon with some apprehension. It never became popular in Java, though it began to find some favour in royal quarters from 1881 A. D. onwards. The *repertoire* is principally borrowed from the *Wayang Purva*.² The *Wayang Bèbèr*, however, is in sharp contrast to those described above. According to Serrurier and some other scholars, it betrays the original form of the *Wayang*. About it, we read in the *Ying-yai-sheng-lan* (1416), "There is a sort of mèn who paint on paper men, birds, animals, insects and so on ; the paper is like a scroll and is fixed between two wooden rollers three feet high ; at one side these rollers are level with the paper, whilst they protrude at the otherside. The man squats down on the ground and places the picture before him, unrolling one part after the other and turning it towards the spectators, whilst in the native language and in a loud voice he gives an explanation of every part ; the spectators sit around him and listen, laughing or crying according to what he tells them."³ It is conducted without any musical instrument. Before the show begins, the *dalang* burns frankincense, mutters a prayer and strikes *cempala* against a box. It presents scenes from all the cycles excepting probably the *Amir Hamza* cycle. The *Wayang Bèbèr* had its parallel in the ancient Indian picture show-man. It appears, however, from the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (140 B.C.), the *Mūdrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta (Act I) and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* that these two institutions are not

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 67 ff.

2 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 402.

3 Groenveltdt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 53.

identical. Apart from the question of nomenclature, which differs widely in these two cases,¹ the Javanese show begins with some compulsory ceremonies, which are not suggested in Indian works. It might be that the show went from India to Java, but in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to be sure on this point. This show is seldom noticed in modern Java.

Wayang shows went from Java to Bali. Dr. Van der Tuuk² says, "The Balinese call *Parva* every prose composition which has been worked up into a poetical form. Their *Wayang* or puppet-show is called *Wayang Parva* (or, according to Balinese pronunciation : *prava*)...The Balinese *Wayang* is pagan and its heroes are those of the *Arjuna-vivāha*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāratayuddha*, the *Bhoma-kāvya*, in fact all the poems in which Indian heroes are the chief actors." The Balinese *ḍalang* borrowed his subjects directly from the poems and not from a *pakem* or prose-extract. Mask plays also exist in Bali, though the subjects they handle are derived from the Middle-Javanese *Rangga Lawe* and not, as in Java, from the Pañji-stories.³ According to some scholars, the shadow-plays of Sumatra, Malacca and Riouw are derived from Java. The *ḍalang* is here called *Pawang*, which has been supposed to be a corruption of *Pahyang*. It corresponds to the Javanese term. The subjects of these shows are borrowed from the Malay *Seri Rama* and other writings like the *Ken Tambuhan*, *Bidasari*, etc.

We thus come to the end of our studies on the *Wayang* literature of Java and Bali. The spirit of classical times has doubtless been preserved by these shadow-plays, but they have also been responsible for the re-orientation of many Indian epic stories. The greatest harm they have done is

1 Cf. the terms, viz., *Yamapaṭaka* and *Maṅkha* with the Javanese *Bèbèr*.

2 J. R. A. S., *New Series*, XIII, p. 49.

3 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, Vol. IV, 2nd ed., p. 403.

that the suggestive symbolical character of many Indian stories has been greatly lost in *Wayang*-forms. But these are inevitable in a country which is situated far-off from India. The time-spirit and the temperament of peoples are also great factors in the curious presentation of Indian Epic heroes on the stages of Indonesia. These shows, at any rate, were very popular in Java. The *Rāmāyaṇa*-reliefs of the Panataran temple permanently bear the fantastic styles of *Wayang*-figures and they stand in sharp contrast to the more human and natural scenes of the Prāmbānān.

CHAPTER XIV

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF JAVA AND BALI

In this chapter we shall consider some works which stand either outside the Epic-cycle or whose themes are found in a large number of writings in Ancient India. In any case, it is not easy to determine the exact source of these works. And, therefore, they can conveniently form a group by themselves. We shall begin our studies with the *Smaradahana*,¹ which, as we have seen before, has assumed enormous importance in connexion with the chronology of Old-Javanese literature. It is further believed that the work throws some light on the problems of Pañji-romances and on the personality of a king of ancient Java. The main contents of the story may be described as follows:—

The first canto opens with an invocation to the Love-god Kāma, which is also a glorification to the reigning king Kāmeśvara (1-6).² The name of Mpu Dharmaja, author of this work, is mentioned in the seventh strophe. The main story of the *Smaradahana*, however, begins with the following strophe. It describes that in early times Śiva went to perform Yoga-penances on Mount Meru under the shadows of a *darśana*-tree (8-10). The gods of heaven with Śakra at their head, the siddhas, ṛṣis, gandharvas and āpsaras, were much concerned at the depredations of the demon-king Nilarudraka, whose capital Senāpura stood on the Southern foot of the Himalayas (11-14).

1 Friederich, *Toorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 19; Juyneholl, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 137 ff; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 492; Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, p. 390; *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. 58, pp. 461 ff; *Smaradahana*, ed. R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 3; Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, pp. 136 ff.

2 The numerals indicate the number of Strophes.

The gods, on the advice of Bṛhaspati, sought the help of Kāma, who was asked to awaken the love of Śiva for Pārvatī. The elephant-headed son, born of their union, they thought, would alone be able to bring about the fall of the demon-king (15-16). The poet then praises Bṛhaspati, who was versed in the Vedas and in the lore of Kuṭāra-mantra, Cānakyā and Kāmandaka (17). The gods accordingly repaired to the residence of Kāma, which was a veritable palace of flowers. Its description continues up to the end of this canto (18-23).

The second canto describes the arrival of the gods and the welcome accorded to them by Kāma, the god of Love (1). Indra and Bṛhaspati impressed upon him the necessity of killing Nilarudraka. As Kāma feared the wrath of Śiva, the gods said that if the worst happens inspite of the mild nature of Śiva, he could be revived by *amṛta* (2-6). Kāma, thus assured, went into the pavilion stretched out under an *Aśoka*-tree, where Ratih, his wife was staying. The gods meanwhile left the palace of Kāma (7-19).

The following two cantos describe the separation of Kāma and Ratih. The latter would not allow him to go inspite of the necessity of the gods. She feared that her beloved husband would not return to her any more. The fifth song describes the departure of Kāma to the accompaniment of gods and *ṛsis*. In the next canto we find them on Mount Meru (1). With their arrival, a heavy thunderstorm broke out in unabated fury (3-4). They saw Nandīśvara and Mahākāla, two door-wardens of Śiva, who had distinct orders not to allow anybody in. After expressing good intentions for his arrival, Kāma went in and saw (15) Śiva under a *darśana*-tree.

The seventh canto describes the efforts of Kāma to spoil the penances of Śiva. He discharged all his flower-arrows on him, but they became ornaments on the body of Śiva. His form now assumed double beauty (1-7). At last, he shot the most powerful *viṣaya*-arrow, which struck him in the heart (11-12). The following canto continues the theme of the previous *sarga*. Śiva hit by

the arrow, immediately thought of Umā, the daughter of the mountain (1). He also observed that Kāma with outstretched bow was aiming at him for the second time (3). He expressed himself in his Rudra-form with five heads and thousand arms (8-10). Kāma, who noticed the danger, called the gods for help ; but they left him in the lurch (11-12). Śiva now focussed the fire of his third eye on Kāma, who was gradually scorched to ashes (13-15). The soul of Kāma went to heaven (23).

The opening of the ninth canto breathes a melancholy tone (1-6). For fear of his own life, Indra wanted to turn back inspite of the remonstrances of Bṛhaspati, who asked him to lead a deputation to Śiva (7-17). Their invocation to Śiva forms the subject of the next two cantos. Being asked about the object of their arrival, Bṛhaspati craved forgiveness for Kāma (1-4)¹ and described the necessity which compelled the gods to take to that course (5-10). Śiva said that Kāma would no longer move about in human form ; his body would be transformed into the finest elements (11-13).

Indra then saw the body of Kāma, which was not yet wholly burnt to ashes (3)². The dying Love-god asked Indra to maintain the friendship that subsisted between them and requested him further to take charge of Ratih, his beloved wife (4-8). The seven ṛṣis and Indra then turned back to their respective quarters (9-11). The next three cantos (XIV-XVI) are indecent.

The seventeenth *sarga*, which contains only one strophe, describes the anguishes of Ratih. The next canto, however, opens (1-6) with a description of natural scenery, which is brought in sharp contrast with the sorrows of Ratih. A messenger of Indra arrived with the news of Kāma's death. She became senseless and thrice threw herself upon the floor (7-11). At last she addressed Bṛhaspati in piteous terms and held the gods responsible for the untimely death of her husband (1-9).³ Bṛhaspati then related the whole affair

1 Canto XII.

2 Canto XIII.

3 Canto XIX.

leading to the burning of Kāma and consoled her by pointing to the transitoriness of life, which was just like the wind-driven clouds (10-17).

In the twentieth canto we find Ratih taking leave of gods to seek her husband through death. The deities lauded the proposal and blessed her (1-8). The *kraton* was deserted now. Accompanied by Nandā and Sunandā, she traversed the beautiful landscape of Ilāvṛta, which lay at the Western foot of the Mahāmeru (9-13). The following *sarga* describes the morning when Ratih arrived there. She discerned the place where Kāma was burnt and began to weep (1-13). Her sorrows found expression in words and these are described in canto XXII (1-17). The flickering embers had not yet died out and Ratih discovered the last mortal remains of Kāma, which proclaimed eternal love for Ratih. She was invited to follow him in death (18-21). In the first strophe of the twenty-third canto we find Śiva, who was observing all these with eager affection. He allowed the fire to burn once more quickly and Ratih, with her maid-servants, plunged therein to die (1-8).¹ The two spirits were thus united. But as they did not possess any material form, they sought contentment through Śiva and Umā. The poet then describes the amours of the two, who were longing for each other in passionate love (cantos XXIV-XXVII). Umā became pregnant.

The following canto opens with the story of the gods who were spinning out a trick to misshape the head of the unborn child (1-4). All gods went to Śiva along with the great Airāvaṇa elephant of Indra. When Umā saw the huge beast coming like a moving hill, she screamed in fear (5-8). The gods fearing the curse of Umā immediately fled. The consort of Śiva bore thereafter an elephant-headed son,

1 Similar scenes are described in many works of Java. A corresponding rite, viz., *Satia* and *Bela* existed in Indonesia. Vide *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XIII, p. 135; also Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Vol. II, p. 244ff; *Essays relating to Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. II, pp. 146-151.

named Gaṇa. As Umā was very crest-fallen over the birth of such a son, Śiva consoled her (9-15). The uneasiness of the demon-king of Senāpura is described in the opening section of canto XXIX. He sent two spies to see if really a son was born to Śiva. When the news was confirmed, he ordered a general mobilisation of the demon-army (1-8). The invasion of the demons is described in songs XXX-XXXI. Everything was destroyed and the gods sought the help of Gaṇa, who, though young, was transformed into a grown-up hero (canto XXXI). The vicissitudes of the war are described up to the thirty-sixth canto which describes the death of the demon-king. After the victory, the gods returned to heaven and held festivities to commemorate their triumph. After a short reference to these celebrations, the poet again touches the story of Kāma and his wife in songs XXXVIII-XXXIX. Now it happened that while Umā and Śiva were wandering about Mount Meru, they saw the glowing ashes of Kāma. Being asked about the incident, Śiva related the whole history to Umā and she realised that Kāma was at the root of their mutual love. She, therefore, requested her husband to transform the ashes of Kāma into the deity that he was. Śiva replied that the time was passed; since Kāma had already re-incarnated himself in Nāmuṣṭi (1-7). So also Ratih, who was re-born in princess Ratnavatī, daughter of Vikramā-ditya of Ujjayinī in Malwa. Her ashes still remain in the cloister of Tāladhvaja (8). The second incarnation of Kāma was king Śataniṣṭhana, famous under the name of Udayana, belonging to the race of the Pāṇḍavas (9). Ratih also split up herself into two: one part became Bāsavadā, daughter of Candrasena; the other part became Ratnāvalī, daughter of Āryasuta Vikramabāhu of Ceylon.¹ As Ratnāvalī was found in the sea, she became known as Sāgarikā or Daughter of the Sea (10-11). Both of them were married to Udayana. In the thirteenth strophe, the poet shifts the scene to Java's Middle-land in the south ("dakṣiṇapathe

1 A similar anecdote is described in the *Tantu Panygelaran*, p. 141, Pigeaud's edition.

Java madhyadeśa”) and incidentally mentions the “famous book of Kumāra” of Kaśmir (14). As Kāma re-incarnated himself in Java, Ratih did not lag behind. Indeed, in Janggala she was “a flower among women” (15). She was like the rays of the Moon and people called her Queen Kiraṇa (i. e. rays).

The next canto¹ describes king Kāmeśvara as an incarnation of Kāma. The second strophe of this song speaks of Dahana as the wonder of the world (“*Dahanarājyā-purva dening jagat*”). The river which flowed by the town has been described as originating from “tears of the wives of killed enemies”(3). The fourth strophe describes Queen Kiraṇa as the daughter of Vajadrava. The following few strophes narrate the pleasures and enjoyments of the royal pair. The fortieth or the last canto speaks of the poet and his work. The work was also very popular in Bali.²

Before we take up the historical aspect of the present work, we shall try to determine the source from which it has borrowed its materials. In the *Pamañcangah kidung*, it has been stated that the poet Dharmaja obtained his materials from the *Candapurāṇa*, which has been supposed to be a corruption of the *Skandapurāṇa*.³ Though the kernel of the story occurs in the *Kumārasambhava* and some other works of Ancient India, the reference to the *Skandapurāṇa* is rather interesting. But on comparison, we find that the texts of the *Smaradahana* and the *Skandapurāṇa* differ from each other in important detail. In the latter work, the story has been told in two places.⁴ Both in the *Viṣṇukhaṇḍa* as well as in the *Māheśvarakhaṇḍa*, the name of the demon appears

1 Canto XXXIX.

2 C. C. Berg, *De Middeljavaansche Historische Traditie*, 1927, p. 172.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 173, footnote; *Smaradahana*, ed. R. ng. Dr. Poerhat-jaraka, Introd., p. IX; V. d. Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb. dl. II*, pp. 334-335.

4 *Skandapurāṇam*, *Viṣṇukhaṇḍe Vaiśākhamāsamāhātmyam*, chaps. VIII-IX; also *Māheśvarakhaṇḍe Kedārakhaṇḍam*, chaps. XX-XXII.

as Tārakāsura and not Nilarudraka. The author relates here the birth of Kumāra and not Gaṇeśa. The various incarnations of Kāma, as described here, are not similar to those of the *Smaradahana*. Besides, Rati of the *Śṅḍapurāṇa* was dissuaded by a celestial voice from burning herself along with her husband.¹ As a matter of fact, she was abducted by the demon Śamvara while she was performing penances.² The name of the arrow which struck Śiva is here Mohanākhyā and not Viṣaya.³ These are sufficient arguments to prove the worthlessness of the information supplied by the *ḱidung* regarding the source of the *Smaradahana*.

As regards the historical aspects of the poem, we have already tried to prove that king Kāmeśvara of the poem is no other than king Kāmeśvara I. If the expression "*Śrīśānadharma maḱa puṇya huripnirāsih*"⁴ is construed to mean that he is a lineal descendant of king Śānadharma, then this is a correct statement. If, on the other hand, it was the intention of the poet to describe him as the father of king Kāmeśvara, then he must be different from Siṇḍok. Any way, this point does not help us in solving the knotty chronological problem of the *Smaradahana*. R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka⁵ has further tried to show that this Kāmeśvara and his wife Kiraṇa ratu are the main players of the Pañji-romances on the following grounds :—

(1) In the sixth strophe of the first canto, we read, "*Yan ring prang ḱita singha vīra taruṇārjāpañji śūreng raṇa*", i.e., In war, you are the young alert lion-hero. Apañji śūreng raṇa.

When the Pañji-romances say that the husband of

1 *Ibid.*, Viṣṇukhaṇḍam, chap. IX, verses 1-6.

2 *Ibid.*, Māheśvarakhaṇḍam, chap. XXI, verses 112ff; cf. also *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, 5/27; *Khila-Harivaṃśam*, chap. 166.

3 In some inscriptions of Campā the name of the arrow appears as *Samḱhana*. *Vide* R. C. Majumdār, *Champa*, p. 174.

4 *Smaradahana*, 38/15.

5 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVIII, pp. 461-489.

Candrakirana is Raden Pañji, and when we know that ratu Kirana is the wife of king Kāmeśvara I who is also known as Pañji or better Apañji, it appears probable that Kāmeśvara I is the Raden Pañji of Javanese traditions.

(2) Pañji is a veritable Don Juan such as the name of Kāmeśvara also signifies.

(3) It is also noteworthy that Moon-symbols are used in the inscriptions of Kāmeśvara I.

Let us see how far these points are tenable. We are inclined to believe that the first argument by itself does not support the hypothesis of Dr. Poerbatjaraka. If the statement was intended for comparison, it fails to establish the identity of the two. Dr. Poerbatjaraka's point, however, gains some support from elsewhere and on different grounds. In a Malay story,¹ the epithet of king Kāmeśvara, viz., *Apañji sureng rana*, also appears as the epithet of Ino, who is described there as *Surengrana Pañji Kusuma Indra*. When taken together, these points seem to carry some weight. But the Pañji-romances furnish some difficulties. In them we find that Raden Pañji is the crown-prince of Janggala (Koripan) and his beloved Candrakirana is the princess of Daha. As we have seen before, a different account is given by the *Smaradahana*. Dr. Poerbatjaraka has sought to explain this anomaly by doubting the veracity of traditions. But why should we question them when we find that Pañji is systematically presented as the crown-prince of Janggala and Candrakirana as the princess of Daha? So the gulf between *Smaradahana* and the Pañji-romances can not be bridged on these grounds.

Let us now take up the second argument. It is quite true that Pañji is a veritable Don Juan—a great lover of women. But it would not be a good argument to connect him with king Kāmeśvara merely on the strength of the name. Besides, the adventures of both the Kāmeśvaras are wholly unknown to history. And Pañji,

1 Cf. Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, p. 140.

without them, is a miserable figure in the romantic literature of Indonesia. Dr. Rassers¹ remarks further that, according to the poem, Kāmeśvara's wife is known among the people as Kiraṇa only. This implies that Kiraṇa was not her usual name. Moon symbols, however, may be of some help in establishing the identity of king Kāmeśvara with Pañji, "about whose Moon-character there can not be any doubt."² It is equally significant that these same inscriptions mention neither Kāmeśvara I nor Kāmeśvara II as incarnation of the Love-god Kāma. As a matter of fact, a record of 1107 Śaka describes Kāmeśvara as an incarnation of Trivikrama, i.e., Viṣṇu. Thus, while the constructive effort of R. ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka is laudable enough, it does not remove our difficulties. It may be possible that Kāmeśvara I is the hero of Pañji-romances, but with the materials at our disposal, we cannot be definite about it.

There are some other names in the *Śmaradahana* which find explanation from Indian history and literature. Dr. Poerbatjaraka³ has already pointed out that by Udayana the poet probably meant the well-known king of Vatsa, who was imprisoned by Caṇḍasena,⁴ king of Ujjayinī. He was ultimately freed by Yaugandharāyana. The adventures of king Udayana are vividly narrated in the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, attributed to Bhāsa⁵ and in the *Kathāsaritsāgarah* of Somadeva. He is also the hero of the *Ratnāvalī*. In the present work, king Udayana has been described as the king of Hastinā. We also read in the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, "This lord of Vatsa is sprung from the Pāṇḍava race and the whole earth is his by hereditary descent, as also the city named of the elephant," i. e., Hastinā.⁶ The name of Caṇḍamahā-

1 Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, p. 302.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

3 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. LVIII, pp. 485ff.

4 It should be *Caṇḍamahāsena*.

5 Dr. Poerbatjaraka has committed a mistake here. Because, the adventures of Kandarpaketu are described in the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, and not the adventures of king Udayana.

6 *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, Tr. Tawney, Vol. I, p. 101; cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 268, 269, 270, etc.

sena has been transformed here into Candrasena and the name of Vāsavadattā appears as Vāsavadā. It is true that Vāsavadattā is the wife of Udayana and the account of their romantic elopement has formed the theme of many poets. Kālidāsa,¹ for example, refers to "*Udayanaḥ kathā-ḥovid-grāma-vṛddhān*," i. e., old men of villages expert in the tales of Udayana. Ratnāvalī, too, is a princess of Ceylon and she is the second wife of king Udayana. After her shipwreck, she became famous under the name of Sāgarikā. Her father, according to the joint-testimony of the *Smaradahanā* and the Sanskrit *Ratnāvalī*,² is Vikramavāhu.

From the tenth and the eleventh canto of this work, it appears that the writer, like Yogīśvara, was thoroughly conversant with Śaiva doctrines. It is possible that both of them subscribed to this faith. The theme of the present work was very popular in Greater India. It has not only been described in the inscriptions of Campā,³ but has also been vividly represented in the reliefs of Angkor Vat and Bayon in Cambodia.⁴ The scenes depicted in the last two structures are almost identical. In the lower part of the relief, we find Kāma discharging his arrow of sugar-cane to Śiva, who has been represented in the upper part of the panel with rosary and knotted locks. We find Umā in the neighbourhood of Śiva and also notice a servant bearing *triśūla* or trident. The next scene depicts the burnt deity in the lap of Rati. It appears, however, that the tradition of the Khmer artists and of Dharmaja, the writer of the *Smaradahanā*, was not identical.

The kakawin *Lubdhaka*,⁵ which we propose to discuss now, has been written in pure Old-Javanese. The hero of the poem is Lubdhaka, who is a niṣāda or hunter by profes-

1 *Meghadūtam*, pūrvameghaḥ, 31.

2 Act IV.

3 R. C. Majumdār, *Champa*, pp. 174-175.

4 B. C. A. I., 1911-'12, p. 197, pl. XXVI, B. 232.

5 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 157; Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, Vol. III, p. 807; Brandes, *Beschrijving der Jav. Bal. en Sas. Hss. v. dr. Van der Tuuk*, Vol. II, pp. 126-129.

sion. In Sanskrit, the name of the title-hero itself signifies a hunter and, therefore, the selection of the name by the poet probably implies the poor equipment of the author in Sanskrit. The story runs as follows. In a pitch-dark night, hunter Lubdhaka had seated himself on the branch of a *Vilva*-tree out of extreme fear. Under the shade of the tree, there was a holy Śivaliṅga. The weight of his body coupled with his convulsions of fear brought down some leaves on the holy liṅga below. Though this happened without his knowledge, the act sufficed to secure him a passport to heaven. After his death, there was a tussel over his soul between the followers of Yama and Śiva and this is described in cantos XX-XXIX. At last the followers of Śiva succeeded in releasing his soul from the clutches of their opponents. The name of the poet, Mpu Tanakung, appears from the thirty-eighth canto.

It is difficult to trace the source of the present work. It cannot be expected that we shall find the name of the hunter as Lubdhaka in parallel Indian stories. As a matter of fact, in the *Śivapurāṇam*,¹ Rurudraha is the name of the hunter. In the Bengali recension of the *Mahābhārata* by Kāśirāma Dāsa,² the name of the hunter appears as Susvara. In the former version of the story, *Vilva*-leaves fell on the Śivaliṅga not out of convulsions of the hunter, but on account of his attempt to kill a roe. The story also occurs in some other Paurāṇic works, but the outline makes a wide departure from that of the above three works.

The work has its problem of dates. In the begining of the poem, we read, "*Sang hyang ning hyang amūrti niṣkala*," and this may refer to the Love-god Kāma.³ One may even conjecture that the phrase refers to king Kāmeśvara. This hypothesis seems to receive some support on two grounds. According to the Balinese tradition, a certain Mpu Tanakung is the brother of Dharmaja, the writer of the *Smaradahana*.

1 *Jñānasamhitā*, Chap. 74.

2 Ed. D. C. Sen, *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, p. 909, 5th edition.

3 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 518.

We have tried to prove before that the latter kakawin was composed in the reign of Kāmeśvara I. Now, if the writer of the *Lubdhaka* is identical with the writer of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, he must have flourished in the second quarter of the twelfth century A. D., when the kakawin of Dharmaja was composed. According to the *Wawatekan* reference, again, the *Lubdhaka* was composed in 1128 A. D. So, two independent testimonies and the Balinese tradition lend their support for placing it in the reign of Kāmeśvara I. More explicit internal evidence, on the other hand, goes to show that the work could not have been composed before 1222 A. D. Unless these latter references are proved to be spurious, we shall regard this Tanakung to be a different person from the author of the *Vṛttasañcaya*, as we have already suggested.

Let us now take up the story of *Sutasoma*, which is also known as *Puruṣādaśānta*.¹ *Puruṣāda*, a demon, who had imprisoned all kings of Baratavarsa (Bhāratavarṣa) and had conquered the ratu Darma was ultimately overcome by Sutasoma and his relative Prabu Maketu. Sutasoma is an incarnation of Bodhisattva and his adventures have been described in the work. This story is widely distributed in the lands of Eastern Asia. We find the story not only in India, but also in Tibet, China, Japan, Java and some other places of the Indian Archipelago. This curious legend of the cannibal king Saudāsa has been worked out to preach the gospel of the Mahāyānist school, though its doctrines have also been tinctured with traces of Śaivism. On fol. 120a, we find, "The god Buddha differs not from Śiva, the king of gods." Again, "The nature of Jina and the nature of Śiva are one ; they are distinguished and yet the same being."² Such passages betray the compromising spirit of the tenets of Buddhism and Śaivism, which led to the development of

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 140 ff; Friederich, *Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali*, p. 20.

2 Vide N. J. Krom, *Borobudur*, Vol. II, p. 299; cf. also Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, pp. 149-177.

the Śiva-Buddha cult. They have been further worked out into a peculiar synthesis of Hinduistic Trinity and the Dhyānibuddhahood of the Northern church. Thus we find Akṣobhya as Īśvara, Ratnasambhava as Brahmā or the creator, Amitābha as Mahāmara (Mahādeva) and Amogha-siddhi as Viṣṇu. Dr. Krom¹ observes quite correctly that the peculiarity of the arrangement lies in the fact that Śiva has been represented twice, evidently to fit a set of four into a set of three. When the cannibal Saudāsa was converted into a monk, Sutasoma recommended to him the worship of Vajrapāṇi, "the lord of the air." The author also refers to 'Japa-yoga-siddhi,' which may belong either to the Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical school of Tāntrism. We see thus that the story of *Sutasoma* in the Old-Javanese literature is a curious synthesis of Mahāyāna and Brāhmaṇical philosophy of the fourteenth century A. D.

Dr. Watanabe² writes, "It is an important and interesting fact that we can trace this story so far back as the Vedic age. Vestiges are found not only in many commentaries, but even in the R̥gveda itself.....The story, commencing with the Vedic age, reaches to the later time of the Purāṇas, with various tendencies and features representing the literature of different periods. It was a common property to the poets of Brāhmaṇism, Buddhism.....and Jainism." The story is not only preserved in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, etc., but also in at least twenty-one texts of the Buddhist literature of India, China and Tibet.³ As the evolution of the story has been consummately traced and the frame-work thoroughly analysed by Dr. Watanabe and Prof. Kern,⁴ we do not think it necessary to dwell upon these points any longer. For our present purpose, it is necessary to bear in mind that "in the later form of the Kalmāṣapāda legend, the Buddhists received a considerable influence from the *Mahābhārata*."⁵

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

2 *J. P. T. S.*, 1909, p. 238.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 240.

4 Cf. *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. III, pp. 123 ff.

5 *J. P. T. S.*, 1909, p. 290.

Dr. Kern¹ thinks that the story of *Sutasoma* was originally a nature-myth, which gradually developed into an edifying story with a moral. According to the same scholar, again, the legend is not based on the myth of a Sun-eclipse but on a Moon-eclipse. His reason for that conjecture is that the main interest of the story is created by *Kalmāṣapāda* holding *Sutasoma*, who is released soon afterwards. Now, *Kalmāṣa* is verily a synonym for *tamas*, i.e., darkness; the term *pāda* may signify either 'feet' or 'rays.' Similarly, the name 'Sutasoma' may mean the soma pressed or the begotten Moon. In many texts, the name of *Kalmāṣapāda* is not explained at all. Dr. Kern says that when men could no more comprehend the idea of the myth, some, narrator took up the name and explained it as 'spotted feet,' and in illustration thereof discovered a little story such as we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. The traces of the myth, however, persisted in many places of the legend. In the *Jātakamālā*, for example, the child has been described as lovely as the Moon. The *Jayaddisa-Jātaḥ* (no. 513) and the *Mahābhārata* are supposed to be more explicit on this point. In the former text, the king of Kampilla, released from the man-eater, has been described as Moon released from the clutches of Rāhu. On these grounds, Dr. Kern supposed that the story of *Sutasoma* originated from a nature-myth.

We are sorry to strike a dissentient note on this point. It is clear that while the Brāhmanical authors re-oriented the story to prove the supremacy of the first *Varṇa*, the Buddhists and the Jains adopted it for the propagation of their respective creeds. But in the earliest form of the legend, it had, we think, not only a historical or semi-historical background, but might even have some connexion with the story of the rape of Soma, as given in the *R̥gveda*.² Many names of the *Sutasoma*-legend find explanation in Vedic thought. Further, the internal evidence of different texts furnishes some details which run counter to the nature-

1 *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. III, pp. 123, 146, 147.

2 4/26/27.

myth theory of Dr. Kern. In Indian mythology, Rāhu is doubtless described as a demon, but he does not possess two wings. In a large number of texts, a demon of such description captured Sutasoma.¹ Dr. Watanabe says² that this special form of the demon is rare in old Buddhist writings. Besides, it is well-known to students of Sanskrit literature that a man coming out of danger is generally described by writers as Moon free from the clutches of Rāhu. So the Rāhu-myth theory of Dr. Kern does not stand on a sure ground and different interpretations are possible. As regards Kalmāṣapāda, our difficulties rather multiply than decrease. It is noteworthy that in some of the oldest versions of the *Sutasoma* legend, the *Older Saṃyuktāvadāna* for example, the name of Kalmāṣapāda does not occur and his place has been occupied by other persons. Apparently his name was introduced at a later period to explain the curse-motif or cannibalism of Saudāsa. In the *Nirukṭa* and the *Sarvānu-kramaṇī*, the name signifies the followers of Sudāsa. In the older Chinese *Avadānas* and in the Pāli *Jātakas*, the name is conspicuously absent. Dr. Watanabe suggests that they were compiled at a time when the name of Saudāsa was not yet taken as an individual name of Kalmāṣapāda.³ The latter name is, therefore, a late invention and as such, its etymological explanation cannot afford us any help in support of the above theory. As a matter of fact, we can add another etymological explanation to the two of Dr. Kern. The name of Kalmāṣapāda may as well mean 'one pertaining to the locality of Kalmāṣa.' When such different interpretations are possible, is it possible to be sure on the nature-myth origin of the story? Dr. Kern has apparently relied too much on metaphors and etymological explanations of names, which are not a sure guide in such cases.

1 Cf. *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, *Saṃyuktāvadāna*, *Siṃhasau-dāsamāṇsabhakṣanivṛtti*, *Damamūkāvadāna*.

2 *J. P. T. S.*, 1909, p. 290.

3 *Ibid.*

According to Dr. Friederich,¹ the legend is based upon the *Ketaka-parva*. The author himself admits that the theme of his kakawin has been borrowed from a *Baudha-kāvya*. As the story of *Sutasoma* is scattered in various texts of Eastern Asia, it is not easy to identify the work mentioned by the poet. Evidently, the source of the Old-Javanese recension cannot be derived from the Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese versions of the story, as the names of the Javanese text do not betray the influence of these places. The writer of this work was Mpu Tantular, who also may be credited with the authorship of the *Arjunavijaya*. Both these works mention Raṇamaṅgala (called Bhre Paṇḍan Salas in the *Pararaton*), son of Soṭor, who appears to be a great patron of the poet.² It is clear, therefore, that these books were composed in the reign of Hayam Wuruk, also known as Bhaṭāra Prabhu, Rājasanagara and Sang Hyang wekasing Sukha. The poem was popular in the island of Bali. Cod. 4526 of this work has been written in Balinese character with interlinear Balinese translation. Several cantos of the legend have been rendered into Balinese in the fragmentary Cod. 4527.

Let us now take up the kakawin *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*. This work was composed in the reign of Varṣajaya, whom we have identified with the well-known Javanese king Jayavarṣa. An inscription of 1104 A. D. stands against the name of the latter. As a record of Kāmeśvara I has probably to be referred to 1116 A. D.³, the date furnished by the *Wawatekan*, viz., 1119 A. D., does not appear to be acceptable for this work. In the sixty-third canto of the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*, we read that its author, Mpu Triguṇa, stood in the same

1 Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali, p. 20.

2 N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, pp. 381, 420; Brandes-Krom, *Pararaton*, p. 160; *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVII, p. 520.

3 N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286; *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVIII, pp. 479-483.

relation to king Varṣajaya as the court-poet Kaṇva to Airlangga.¹

The contents of this kakawin² relate to the love-affairs of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī. The latter was the princess of Kuṇḍina and daughter of Bhīṣmaka and Pṛthukirtti, who had betrothed her to Jarāsandha, the king of Cedi. According to the joint-testimony of the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*³ and the *Harivaṃśam*,⁴ of which the latter offers a detailed account of the story the princess Rukminī was sought by Jarāsandha not for himself but for Śiśupāla. The princess passionately loved Kṛṣṇa, who foiled the proposed marriage by carrying off Rukminī. Her brother Rukma and the mighty Cedi king could ill brook the triumph of Kṛṣṇa, whom they challenged to a fight. In the end both of them were worsted and, were it not for the timely intervention of Rukminī, her brother would have paid the penalty with his life for backing the Cedi king. Thus the longing couple were united in wedlock. The work also furnishes a list of the ten foremost wives of Kṛṣṇa,—wives, whose number according to Indian and Javanese tradition is 16000. Towards the close of the book, the author bursts into a rapture over the gorgeous scenery of Dvāravatī and narrates some erotic scenes which are hardly absent in any *Kawi*-work.

Four scenes from the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa* have been represented at the temple of Caṇḍi Jago.⁵ Similarly, the temple at Panataran not only preserves *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs, but also scenes from the above-mentioned kakawin, which we find portrayed in the second terrace.⁶

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. LVII, pp. 515 ff.; N. J. Krom, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 156.

3 Part V, Chap. 26.

4 *Khila Harivaṃśam (Viṣṇuparvan)*, Chaps. 116-117.

5 Brandes, *Tjaṇḍi Djago*, p. 77.

6 Cf. N. J. Krom, *Inleiding Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, dl. II, pp. 250-269; also, *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. 64, pp. 196-206; *Not. Bat. Gen.*, dl. 39, p. 135.

author describes how Subhadrā eloped with Arjuna while the Andhakas and the Vṛṣṇis were making festivities on the Raivata-hill. Though Valadeva first objected to this marriage, he gave his consent later on and the nuptial ceremony was duly performed with a display of *Topèng*, expressed here by the term *Raket*. The work ends with, '*Iti kakawin Kālayavanāntaka Kṛṣṇavijaya samāpta.*'

In the *Koravāśrama*,¹ the theme of the above poem has been succinctly summed up. It represents Kālayavana as Brahmā's son, who used to devastate Dvāravatī by eating up its inmates. The episode of Mucakunda also occurs here, but his name has been corrupted into Mrtyukunda. Among Sanskrit works, the story occurs in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*,² the *Harivaṃśam*,³ etc. Dr. Juynboll⁴ held that the work was extant in Java in the thirteenth century A. D. just because the episode has been depicted in the reliefs of Caṇḍi Tumpang and Panataran. As popular traditions have an alternative claim, there is no reason why artists must follow the kakawin for the execution of their work. Provisionally, however, we accept the thirteenth century A. D. as the date of this kakawin.

Let us now take up the kakawin *Rāma Vijaya*,⁵ an Old-Javanese work of sixty-three cantos. The poem offers an account of the disappointed lover Aṅgaraparṇa (spelt as Aṅgaparna), whose unreturned love flowed for Indra Renuka, the girl of his dream. In course of time she was married to Jamadagni, to whom she bore a son of the name of Paraśurāma.⁶ Aṅgaraparṇa, now blind with anger, devised means to wreck vengeance on Jamadagni with the help of Arjuna Sahasravāhu. Paraśurāma sought the help of Indra. In the

1 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, p. 337.

2 Part V, chap. 23.

3 *Khila Harivaṃśam*, chap. 114.

4 *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Ind. Mus.*, dl. I, p. 155.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160; Dr. Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, dl. I, pp. 500, 782.

6 cf. *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part IV, chap. 7.

ensuing fight, the party of the former was destroyed.¹ Among the allies, who came to render succour to Arjuna Sahasra-vāhu, we find such interesting names as : Methila (Mithilā), Sindapati (Sindhupati), Aṅgarāja, Kāsīndra, Kaśmīra (Kāśmīra), Kamboja, Kaliṅganātha, Darśśaṇanātha, Cedi-rāja, Bāhlikādhīpa (Vāhlikādhīpa), etc.

The story of the Churning of the Milk-sea is suggested in the sixth, thirty-second and thirty-third cantos of the present work, thus betraying the influence of the *Mahābhārata*.²

Tentatively, we accept this kakawin as a work of the thirteenth century A. D.

A poem of the name of *Pr̥tuvijaya* (Pr̥thuvijaya ?) stands against the name of a certain Aṣṭaguṇa. The name of the poet reminds one of the name of Trigūṇa and Monaguṇa. The work handles the subject of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Dr. Krom³ thinks provisionally that the work may be assigned to the Kediri period. Similarly, the work *Naraḥavijaya*, which agrees with the earlier stories of the *Bhomaḥāvya*, has to be referred to the reign of one Kāmeśvara. It is not clear if he should be identified with the first or the second king of that name.⁴ Let us now take up the *Bhomaḥāvya*⁵—a kakawin that has exerted a pronounced influence on the history of Old-Javanese literature and supplied materials to the stages of Indonesia. According to Dr. Juynboll, the work *Calon Arang*, composed in 1462 Śaka, has put the dialogue of Kṛṣṇa and Nārada of the *Bhomaḥāvya* into the mouths of Airlangga and Bharaḍha.

The name of the book has been derived from Bhoma or

1 cf. *Ibid.*, part IV, chap. 11.

2 cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

3 *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 236.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dln. XXII, XXIV; Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. I, p. 388; Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, pp. 391-392; Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 128ff; cf. also *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXI, pp. 91ff.

Bhauma, also known as Narakāsura. His father was Viṣṇu and his mother was Pṛthivī or Earth. Through his mother's name, he also became famous as Mahīsuta, Kṣītisuta, Mahīja, Kṣītiya, etc. His demoniac figure inspired the awe of all peoples and kings felt the weight of his arms. Indra, the king of gods, could not prevail against him and was compelled to seek shelter with Viṣṇu. The latter gladly consented to kill the mighty demon, his son, in his incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. Because, as he says himself in the *Bhagavad-gītā*¹, "Whenever religion is in danger and sins are triumphant, I lose no time in re-incarnating myself." So Bhoma was killed by being lifted up from the earth, which could constantly re-invigorate him.

The work was written by Mpu Bradah, a Buddhist author. It is interesting to note that the subject handled by him has been borrowed from the Brāhmaṇical, and not the Buddhist, literature of India. Raffles² mentions a Javanese recension of the work under the name of *Buma Kalatanaka* or *Embatali*. It appears that the former name is a corruption of the *Bomāntaka*, which, when restored to its Sanskrit form, should correspond to *Bhumāntaka*. The work has a Malay recension under the name of *Hikayat Sang Samba*, which, however, differs on many points from the *Kawirecension of Java*³. If the testimony of the *Prastuti ning kakawin*⁴ has to be believed, the *Bomāntaka* was composed by Mpu Riserangan. If he is not the same writer as Mpu Bradah, *Bomāntaka* should be a different work handling the same subject. Dr. Juynboll⁵ has adduced no reason for identifying these works. Winter⁶ mentions two works, viz., *Bomantara* and *Bomantaka*, of which the first describes the birth, and the second the death, of Boma (i. e., Bhaūma).

1 4/7.

6 *op. cit.*3 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXI, pp. 91ff; also *Essays relating to Indo-China, Second Series*, Vol. II, pp. 13-14.4 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 286.5 *Op. cit.*6 Juynboll quoting *Jav. Zamen spraken* I, 354; Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, p. 392.

According to him, the author of the first work is Mpu Kalangon and that of the second is Mpu Bodaguna. The *Bhomaḱāvya* was doubtless very popular in the island of Bali, as appears from many Balinese translations of the poem.

The main subject of this poem occurs in different Sanskrit texts of India¹, though the details are not identical in many cases. According to Dr. Kern, the *Bhomaḱāvya* has to be dated after the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which he assigns to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. And accordingly, this work is placed by him in the fourteenth century A.D. Dr. Van der Tuuk², however, assigns it to the reign of *Kāmeśvara* on the ground that the first verse of the *Bhomaḱāvya* runs as *Mūrti Sang Hyang Manobhū*, which, we think, may not necessarily refer to *Kāmeśvara*. As a working hypothesis, we may accept the date of Dr. Kern.

The work hitherto transcribed as *Anggastyaparva*³, should, according to Dr. Gonda,⁴ be read as *Agastyaparva*. It betrays the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Nīti* and the cosmogonical literature of Ancient India. There are some corrupt Sanskrit verses in the work, but their number, according to Dr. Pigeaud, is less than that of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The work opens in characteristic *Paurāṇic* way with a dialogue between *Dṛḍḍasyu* (*Dṛḍhasyu*) and his father *Angghastya* (*Agastya*). The former queried about the origin of the world and the latter narrated the incidents connected with the *Mahāpralaya* (Great Destruction) when all beings perish excepting *Bhaṭāra Sadāśiva*,⁵ who creates again. The origin of *Brahmā* and

1 *Mahābhārata*, I, 65; II, 9; III, 12; III, 142; *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part V, chap. 9; *Khila-Harivaṃśam*, chap. 121.

2 cf. *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. LVII, pp. 517-518.

3 T.G.T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, pp. 319-326; Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 170ff; *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1933, dl. 90, pp. 329ff.

4 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1933, dl. 90, p. 340.

5 In Indonesia, according to one writer, this is also a name of *Brahmā*. Vide, *Essays relating to Indo-China, Second Series*, Vol. II, p. 137.

Viṣṇu has been traced to *Caturbhūta* (viz., *ākāśa*, *vāyu*, *pṛthivī* and *tejas*) and the egg. Brahmā has been described as responsible for the creation of the Prajāpatis, Sanaka, Nandana, Sanatkumāra, Bhyaṣa (Vyāsa), Brahmarṣis, Manus and the Pitara(h). Dṛdḍasyu then questioned about the ten Brahmarṣis, viz., Dakṣya (Dakṣa), Marici (Marīci), Ruci, Nilalohita (Nila°), Bhṛgu, Atri, Aṅgira, Pulaha, Kratu and Vaśiṣṭha (Vaśiṣṭha). This list appears to have been confused both in Java as well as India, because, neither the names nor their arrangements are identical in all works.¹ The creation of Marici from Brahmā's eye naturally reminds one of a similar description in the *Manusamhitā*.² The author then traces the origin of the fourteen Manus to the Brahmarṣis. Each of these Manus, as the writer tells us, remained for seventy-one *yugas*.³ Dṛdḍasyu then sought information regarding the descendants of Dakṣya and was informed that the latter begot fifty-one daughters through his wife Prasuti, and thirteen of them were married to Prajāpati. The author then gives some details regarding the issue of these thirteen daughters. Others, as the author tells us, were married to the brothers of Dakṣya. Thus, Nilalohita was married to Sati (Sati), Bhṛgu to Kyati (Khyāti), Aṅgira to Smuti (Smṛti), Pulastya to Priti (Prīti), Pulaha to Kṣyama (Kṣamā), Kratu to Sanati (Sannati), Atri to Anasuya (Anasūyā), Vaśiṣṭha to Urjja (Ūrjjā), Agni to Svaha (Svāhā) and Piṭṛ to Svādā (Svadhā). We can thus correct⁴ the names given above with the help of the

1 cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*, chap. 50, śloka 5ff.; *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 20, śloka 9ff.; *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, chap. 10, etc.

2 *Manusamhitā*, 1/35; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad Hss.*, dl. II, p. 171.

3 The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam* says, "Tasmaikasaptatipugam Manvantaramihocyate," in chap. 10, śloka 12; cf. also *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*, chap. 53, śloka 3.

4 cf. *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 20, śloka 9ff; *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part I, chap. 7; *Saurapurāṇam*, chap. 26, etc.

Sanskrit Paurāṇic works. In some Sanskrit works, however, the name of Kratu's wife appears as Santati.¹ The name of Urjja has similarly been spelt as Ūrjja. In the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*,² again, Ūrjja is Atri's wife and Anasūya is Vasiṣṭha's. It is noteworthy that the Javanese author has not given above the name of the wife of Marici, though he has already mentioned him as one of the brothers of Dakṣya. From Indian literature, we can supply her name as Sambhūti. It is also noteworthy that some new names appear in the second list, while some others drop out from the first.

Dakṣya also married Asiktiki and had by her ten daughters, who were married to Dharma.³ Their children were Daśaviśva and Aṣṭabhāsu (°vasu).⁴ The 27 Anakṣatras (nakṣatras) who were married with the Moon were also the issue of Dakṣya and Asiktiki.⁵ Dṛdḍasyu then turned to a different topic and requested his father to describe how men came to hell and heaven. He was told that this was due to *Ulah*, *Śabda* and *Ambekā*, of which *Ulah* is the lowest and *Ambekā* is the highest virtue. It is stated further that for *manasiḥ* (mānasik) sins, men become plants; for *vacika* (vācika) sins, animals; for *kaṇika* (kāyika) sins, Mleca (Mleccha). The *Manusmṛhitā* gives a slightly different version of it.⁶ The author remarks that redemption from the last is very difficult.

The author then proceeds with his story and describes that the blindness of men is due to their making sins with their eyes and also to their deriving pleasure from

1 *Saurapurāṇam*, chap. 26.

2 Chap. 50, śloka 19ff.

3 cf. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, chap. 69, śloka 41. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*, chap. 50, and the *Saurapurāṇam*, chap. 26 describe that 13 daughters were married to Dharma.

4 *Vide*, *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 18, ś'oka 35; *Saurapurāṇam*, chap. 28.

5 cf. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇam*, chap. 69, śloka 41.

6 cf. "Sarīrajaiḥ Karmadoṣoiriyāti Sthāvaratām narah/
vācikaiḥ pakṣimṃgatām mānasairantyajātītām|]" 12/9
Manasā, Vācā, Kāyena occur in *Ibid.*, 12/8-9.

bad things. Similarly, the dumb spoke black things about the good; the deaf heard disgraceful speeches; and the diseased committed sins by *agamyāgamana*, viz., impurity, theft, falsehood, etc. The theme is spun further and the author tells us that the atma (ātman) is carried to heaven or hell by the *ativāhita*-body. In the heaven, this receives *divyaśarīra*; in the hell, this is punished by Dharma according to the sin committed in earlier life. The god of Death also decides where he is to be born again. The writer informs us further that three works enable one to reach heaven, viz., *tapas*, *yajña* and *ḥirti* (kīrti). These three have been described as *pravṛttidharma*, while *yoga* has been called *niṣṛttidharma*. Five kinds of *yajñas*, viz., deva-, ṛṣi-, pitṛ-, bhūta and manusa (manuṣya) *yajñas*, have also been enumerated.¹ The author says that after the term of the deceased in heaven is over he is again born on the earth. All these show belief in the transmigration of souls and conviction that the conduct of the present life determine the status of the future. One is certainly allured by the statement that the celebration of many *tapas* releases men from re-birth and the performance of many more enables one to become like Sagara, Dilipa (Dilīpa), Raghu, Rāma, Daśaratha and the Pandavas (Pāṇḍavas).

The work also furnishes some details regarding religion and connected topics. It is said that if anyone conducts worship without frankincense, he becomes happy only for a moment but then remains unhappy ever afterwards. Similarly, if anyone despises or turns back from the poor and the helpless, he may become rich and eminent in life, but he is never loved by anybody. If the worship is conducted faultily, the author tells us, the worshipper may be rich, but he must be born among the low. Similarly, if anyone follows the injunctions of religion in a bad spirit, he be-

1 In the *Manusamhitā*, Chap. III, śloka 69ff., we find the *Pañcamahāyajña*, viz., Brahma-, Pitṛ-, Daiva-, bhūta- and manuṣya-yajñaḥ. Some other *yajñas* were also known in Bali. Cf. *Essays relating to Indo-China, Second Series*, Vol. II, p. 129, footnote.

comes a beautiful Caṇḍāla ! If anyone has mania for purifying himself always,¹ he is born ugly in a high family.

Genealogical details again take their due course. It is stated that thirteen daughters of Dakṣya were married to Kasyapa (Kaśyapa) and of them, Aditi became the mother of twelve children. Dṛdḍasyu asked why Aditi conceived gods as her children and was answered that this was due to her mild temper and her absence of upekṣa (upekṣā). The writer then passes on to the story of Kasyapa and Diti, who became the parents of Hiranyakasipu, Hiranyakṣa and Singhikā, the mother of Rāhu. Some space is also devoted to the description of the four sons of Hiranyakasipu and their descendants. The genealogy of Vairocana, the son of Prahlāda, has also been narrated.²

The author then tells us that Indra, after killing Maruta or the Wind-god, went to heaven to remove his sins of Brahmahatya (°hatyā) or Bhrūnaha(tyā).³ The writer then explains what is meant by Bhrūnaha. After furnishing some details of the genealogy of Prahlāda, Hiranyakasipu, Nivātakavaca and others, the work narrates some incidents, which we find in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the reference to Maṇimantaka, Arjuna, Nivātakavaca, Muka who became the boar Damalung, we apparently notice the influence of the *Arjunavivāha* or the *Vivāha-ḥawī*. Similarly, through the mention of Tāṭaka (Tāḍakā), who was killed by Rāma, and Marica (Mārīca), who captivated Sita (Sītā), we infer the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Mahābhārata*-story of Sunda and Upasunda has also been noted here. Even the story of Nahuṣa, who is stated to have been carried by the Devarṣis and cursed by Anggastya

1 This corresponds to Bengali *Sucivāi* or its Sanskrit equivalent, viz., *Sucivāyugrastha*.

2 These details concur with those of the *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 19, śloka 4-9; also *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part I, chap. 15.

3 *Vide*, *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part I, chap. 21; *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 19, śloka 19ff. The *Skandapurāṇam* describes (Māheśvarakhaṇḍe Kēdāra-khaṇḍam, chap. 15) how Brahmahatyā followed Indra everywhere and how he immersed himself in the waters.

(Agastya) has not been omitted. The author once more reverts to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and refers to the crow Jayanta when Ramasīta (Rāma-Sītā) concealed themselves in the Pañcavadi (°vaṭi).

The Dānavas have been described as the children of Kasyapa and Danu. Yama, the father of Mandondari (Mandodari) and the father-in-law of Rāvaṇa, was one of them. The author then narrates the story of Keśi (Keśi), who was killed by Kṛṣṇa and Valadeva at Maḍura (Mathurā).¹ War-scenes continue and we find Hayagriva (°griva) fighting against Kṛṣṇa.² The demon Dundu followed suit and he was killed by Mahārāja Kulavaśva (Kuvalayāśva ?). Dṛḍḍasyu then asked why Prava, the wife of Kasyapa, got Gandharva children. He was informed that this was due to her artistic temperament. Similarly, one thousand *nāga*-sons of Kadry and Kasyapa have been attributed to the nature of the former. The reference to Vinātha (Vinatā), Arjuna and Garuḍa, which occurs in this connexion, undoubtedly suggests the influence of the *Mahābhārata*. The story of Mali and Sumali, occurring in the Old-Javanese *Hariśraya*, has also been noted here. The author further recalls how Madu (Madhu) was killed by Viṣṇu.³ The story of Lavaṇāsura, who held sway over Mādura (Madhupura), was borrowed, as the author candidly says, from the *Rāmāyaṇa-carita*. The *Uttara-kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁴ indeed narrates how the demon was killed by Śatrughna. The author, however, reverts to his favourite themes of the *Mahābhārata* and describes how the gods and the demons churned the Milk-sea with Mount Mandara. The author then indulges in philosophical speculations and says that one who cannot overcome *Saḍvarga* must exercise *Trikāya paramārtha*, viz., *kāyikā*,

1 Cf. *Khila-Harivaṃśam*, chap. 80; *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part V, chap. 16.

2 Cf. *Mahābhārata*, V, 130.

3 *Khila-Harivaṃśam*, chaps. 214-215.

4 Canto 75.

vācika and *mānasik*, i. e., recitation of mantras, purity in words and in thoughts. After a brief notice of Jaṭāyu and Daśānana, Irā, Pulastya and their issue,¹ the author introduces us to deeper philosophical speculations. Thus, asked about the aim of Paraśurāma, Angghastya replied that the object of the former was to attain the one-ness of Tripuruṣa, which has been described as the highest of the sixteen *tattvas* ! Poor Sāṃkhya philosophy ! Of the names that next meet our eyes, the most interesting are those of Bheravamargga (Bhairavamārga), Sidanta-Śeva-Paśupata (Siddhānta-Śaiva-Pāśupata), Yogādiparamaguhya, Veṣṇavapakṣa (Vaiṣṇava°) and Niskalaparama-Śunya (Niṣkalaparamaśūnya). Some of these names evidently suggest the influence of Śaiva Tantrism. The author adds further that if anyone cannot separate *manaḥ* from *śarīra* and is a slave to the *Saḍvarga*, he cannot attain *Kamokṣana*, i. e., salvation. The writer thus recognises the existence of a spiritual life, which is in sharp contrast to the physical one. Angghastya stated further that the performance of three *vratas*, viz., akrodha, alobha and śokavarjita, enabled one to become a devatā or god. But as these were not humanly possible, the speaker recommended that *sembah* should be conveyed to the *Paṇḍitas*, i. e., the Brāhmaṇas and, at the same time, one should take initiation from Pratama (°thama), Madyama (°dhyama) and u(t)tamaguru. The guru gives him mantras and instructs him in the philosophy of the Lord. And thus, redemption is attained. The author notes, however, that instruction before initiation is equivalent to Brahmahatyā on the part of the guru.

Genealogical details again take their due course and we obtain some data regarding the families of Aṅgira, Hanumān, Kṛpa, Droṇa, Kuntī, Pulastya and Vaiśiṣṭha. Bhyṣa (Vyāsa) has been described as the author of the *Aṣṭādaśaparva*. The author then narrates the little anecdote of Āditya, who followed Ajña (Sajñā) to U(t)tarakuru,

1 *Agnipurāṇam*, chap. 19, śloka 17; *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, part I, chap. 21

which is to the north of Sumeru, in the disguise of a horse. Sanskrit Purāṇas indeed narrate how Sajñā, unable to bear the brilliance of the Sun, went to perform penances after sending a pseudo-Sajñā, called Chāyā, to her husband.¹ Towards the end of the work, the author speaks of the four *varṇas* and their *dharma* and he classifies the Caṇḍālas and Dombas under the Śūdras; the Mlecās (Mlecchas) have been described as foreign to the *caturvarṇa*. The book also refers to *varṇasaṅkara* or mixture of castes, which was looked upon with particular aversion by the Javanese peoples.

The work is evidently based on various traditions of Indian mythology, which filtered through the colonists from India or the Javanese visitors of the mainland in the Indo-Javanese period. Indigenous traces are not altogether absent in the work. Dr. Pigeaud² thinks that the *Agastya-parva* is older than the *Koravāsrama*, which we have already placed in the fourteenth century A. D.

The two Middle-Javanese poems, *viz.*, *Sudamala* and *Sri Tañjung*, of which the former may be regarded as an introduction to the latter, are also of some importance. Of the *Sudamala*, Dr. Van der Tuuk says,³ "The poem relates how Sahadeva delivered Durgā of her Rākṣasa-form, the consequence of a curse by Śiva, who had convicted her of adultery with a young cowherd, and had assumed that form to put her to the test. Umā, being transformed into a monster, received the name of Durgā, and was compelled to dwell in the cemetery Gandamayū. Sahadeva delivered her of the consequence of Śiva's curse, and went thenceforth by the name of Sudamala,—a corruption from *Śuddha* (purified), and *mala* (a temporary monstrous form caused by the curse of a god)." On the advice of Durgā, Sudamala-Sahadeva went to Tambapetra and, after curing him of his blindness, married his daughter. The two vidyādhara, *viz.*, Citrasena and Citraṅgada, who were cursed to assume

1 Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇam*, chap. 77.

2 T. G. T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*, 1924, p. 326.

3 J. R. A. S., *New Series*, XIII, p. 55.

Rākṣasa-forms along with Umā, fought against the Pāṇḍavas and were killed by them. They then recovered their original beautiful form.¹

This Sahadeva—continues the *Sri Tañjung*—had a beautiful daughter, who is the title-heroine. She was married to Sidapakṣa, her cousin, the son of Nakula. "He stabs her under the impression that she had committed adultery during his absence in Indra's heaven whither the king had sent him in order to seduce Sri Tañjung. From the circumstance of her blood emitting a delicious scent he concluded that the king had slandered her.....The wicked king, Sinduraja, is at last killed by Sidapakṣa, who is assisted by the Pāṇḍavas."²

There are some other stories of this character, which, while borrowing the names of persons from the two great epics of India, have placed them against an original background. The *Arjuna Pralabda*,³ for example, presents Arjuna and his brothers in the main rôle. The names of Kṛṣṇa, Haladhara and Śiva are also met with. But we shall seek in vain for the parallel of this story in Sanskrit literature. Of a similar nature is the story of *Darmajati*,⁴ in which we come across the names of Duryodhana who wanted to poison Bhīma, of Subhadrā, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Suprabhā and others. In this poem, Subhadrā appears as Kṛṣṇa's daughter ! The *Sang Satyavan*⁵ is a Middle-Javanese poem, written in *Macapat* metre. The wife of Satyavan (Satyavān) is Suvistri (Sāvitṛī), who has been described as the daughter of Yayāti and Devayānī. From the names of the hero and the heroine, one may conjecture that the story is no other than the well-known story of Sāvitṛī and Satyavān, which we find scattered in many works of Ancient India. Comparison between the two works, however, shows that the details differ widely, indeed surprisingly. In the *Pandava Lima* and the *Rama Nitīs*, the heroes of the two epics have been

1 Vide Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 269.

2 *Ibid.*, 259; *J. R. A. S.*, *op. cit.*

3 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

4 *Ibid.*,

5 *Ibid.*, p. 270.

mixed up ; Javanese traces are not also lacking.¹ Similarly, in the work called *Calon Arang*,² not only magicism and Indian deities are present, but also the well-known story of Supratika and Vibhāvasu, who fought in the disguise of an elephant and a tortoise. The latter two were killed by Garuḍa by the orders of Kasyapa. This episode has clearly been borrowed from the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.

We thus come to the end of our studies on this section of the Indo-Javanese literature. There are indeed few books in Java and Bali, which do not betray any Indian influence. Clear traces can be found even in the so-called Muslim literature of Java. Indeed, the influence is sometimes so great that we have to consider seriously whether this is a Muslim influence on Hindu literature or *vice-versa*. It is the invocation of the writer that sometimes guides us in our decision on this point. As the discussion of Muslim literature is beyond the scope of the present work, we may rest content with what we have said above.

1 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, dl. II, pp.73-75.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 229-300; *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. 82, 1926, pp. 110-180.

CHAPTER XV

LEGENDS AND ROMANCES OF JAVA AND BALI

The peoples of Java and Bali are extremely fond of legends and romances, which illustrate the imaginative aspect of the Indonesian mind. The study of the subject has, therefore, not only an educative value for understanding the people, but is also instructive from the strict folklorists' point of view. It is possible that the demands of popular temperament fashioned this literature, which had also some reciprocal influence on the former. The study of the subject, however, is fraught with some difficulties due to parallelism in ideas and folk-tales, as, in such cases, it is well-nigh impossible to disentangle the forces of mutual influence and trace the stories to their sources. Dr. Franz Boas has sought to explain this similarity in folk-tales by the theory of "Parallelism of culture development". It postulates that "different groups of mankind started, at a very early period, from a general condition of lack of culture, and, owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs—"¹. The above statements do not require any qualification when applied to widely separated groups of peoples, but when cultural contacts are known to have existed, these legends and romances baffle all our attempts for the discovery of their sources. In the following pages we shall have occasion to discuss not only parallel but also identical stories. The links that, in our opinion, connect the legends and romances of Indo-Mal-Polynesia are the following :—

- (a) Love-episodes at the bathing-ghat.

1 Franz Boas, *The mind of primitive man*, 1922, p. 181.

(b) Dream of the hero and the heroine for each other before "the fancy" was actually "bred in the eye."

(c) Curse-motif.

(d) Talks of wise parrots, wily jackals, etc., who frequently guide the heroes and heroines. These are not uncommon features of Indo-Mal-Polynesian legends. Peacocks also play a prominent part in Malay folk-tales.

(e) Rākṣasas, goblins and old hags expert in black arts. These occur in profusion in Indo-Mal-Polynesian folk-tales. Many Indian folk-tales, particularly those of Bengal, describe how the lives of Rākṣasas are kept in some magic boxes, trees or animals. We may recall in this connexion the stories of Ḍālimkumār, of the Rākṣasas, of the boy whom seven mothers suckled, which have been described in the *Folk-tales of Bengal*, compiled by the late Rev. Lal Behari De. The *Arjunavivāha* also tells us how the demon-king could not be killed unless he was struck in the tongue. In the *Kathāsaritsāgaraḥ*,¹ similarly, we find the demon saying, "In my left hand there is an unguarded place," where lay the magic of his power. In romantic literature, however, fairies, *gandharvas*, *apsaras*, play a more prominent rôle.

Let us illustrate these points from the literature of India and Indonesia. In the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*,² for example, the poet describes how the Aśvin-twins fell in love with the young girl Sukanyā just as she was coming out from her bath. Numerous examples can be culled from the *Kathāsaritsāgaraḥ* of Somadeva, but we shall rest content with a few specific instances. The case of Kīrtisena³ is a typical one. He fell in love with Śrutārtha as she was going to bathe and married her by the *Gandharva*-rite. Similarly, the Yakṣa Sāta beheld the daughter of a sage bathing in the Ganges and both of them became enamoured of each other.⁴

1 Tr. Tawney, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 70ff; cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 385. Tawney refers to a similar story in Ralston's *Russian Folk-tales*, p. 71

2 Book III, 122-125; cf. also *Devībhāgaratam*, 7|4.

3 *Kathāsaritsāgaraḥ*, Tawney's translation, 1880, Vol. I, p. 32.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Somadeva¹ also describes how the vidyādhara, viz., Vijayadatta and Aśokadatta saw daughters of hermits bathing in the Ganges and how they fell in love with them and how the love was returned. In the story of Candrahāsa and Viṣayā, which occurs in the Bengali *Mahābhārata*² and which, according to Dr. D. C. Sen,³ is a distinct Bengali interpolation, the love of Viṣayā originated in seeing the sleeping Candrahāsa at the bathing-*ghāṭ* and it was fruitful in marriage. Love-episodes at the bathing-*ghāṭ* have also played a prominent part in the writings of the Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal. One of them, for example, wrote the following beautiful verses :—

“Sai, ki herilām Yamunār kūle
Vrajakula-nandana harila āmār mana
Tribhaṅga dārāñā tarumūle.”

[‘Ah, friend ! What met my eyes on the banks of the Yamunā ! The darling of the Vraja-people, standing cross-legged under a tree, captured my heart.’] The amours of Paurāṇic Kṛṣṇa in the bathing-*ghāṭs* are too well-known to need any re-capitulation. The courtesy, however, was not always paid back. In the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*,⁴ for example, we read the story of four gaṇas, who fell in love with a bathing hermit’s daughter, but the love was not returned.

Let us now trace these features in the romances of Java and Bali. The Middle-Javanese poem *Durma*,⁵ which may be brought under this category, enjoys some popularity in Indonesia. The occurrence of some Balinese words in the body of the book (Cod. 4225) betrays the influence of Bali. According to Dr. Juynboll,⁶ the story begins with a Mal-Polynesian myth. It describes how the clothes of the

1 *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, Tawney’s Translation, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 218-219.

2 Kāśirām Dās, *Mahābhārata*, edition of Subodh Chandra Majumdār, p. 1011.

3 *Folk-literature of Bengal*, p. 21.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 506-607.

5 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 273.

6 *Dijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. 71, p. 575.

bathing vidyādhari, Ken Sulasih, were concealed by Rājapāla, who ultimately confessed his love to the nymph. It reminds us of the tricks of Paurāṇic Kṛṣṇa, who used to pick up the dresses of bathing ladies and climb along with them on some neighbouring tree. The vidyādhari, however, yielded to her importunate lover and both were united in wed-lock. In course of time, Durma, the hero of the poem, was born to them and Ken Sulasih, like many other celestial nymphs, vanished to heaven, her original abode. We have already described the *Kawi-work Sumanasāntaka*, which bears this trait. More typical, however, is the story of Purūravā and Urvaśī,¹ of whom the latter vanished to heaven after the episode of a son was introduced. The reason is explicitly stated by Madanavega in the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*,² "Kaliṅga-senā, we heavenly beings are subject to this law, that, when a mortal child is conceived, we must abandon it, and go afar. Did not Menakā leave Śakuntalā in the hermitage of Kaṇva?" This Durma, along with his father Rājapāla, went to perform penances, and the latter instructed him in moral lessons. Dr. Juynboll³ points out that these conversations are conducted in Balinese. Later on, Durma, intending to go to the king of Wanokling was abducted by the rākṣasī Durgadeni (Durgandhinī?) accompanied by her two brothers. At length, he succeeded in escaping from their clutches and killing them all. As a reward for his valour, he obtained the title of Raden Singa Pañjara.

Though the earlier portion of the poem under review belongs to the Mal-Polynesian group of legends (Juynboll), it is better to designate such stories as Indo-Mal-Polynesian because these peculiar traits are common to the romantic

1 *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, 4th part, Chap. VI; Kālidāsa, *Vikramorvaśī*, Act. III. The myth scattered through early Indian literature has been collected by Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, vol. I, pp. 243-295. We are here concerned with the outline of the story and not with the significance of it. A similar story is described in *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, Tawney, Vol. I, pp. 249-251.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

3 *Op. cit.*

literature of all these lands. Similar is the tenor of the poem *Raden Saputra* or *Ratna-Manik*¹, which has not only a Balinese recension but also East-Javanese and Madurese recensions. The Balinese recension, however, is in sharp contrast to the Madurese *Radin Saputra* (*Cod.* 3153) described by Prof. Vreede. It also differs, and differs surprisingly, from *Cod.* 4962 (2), summarised by Dr. Juynboll in his *Supplement*, vol. I. We take up the Balinese recension, which is exceedingly suitable for our present purpose. The contents of this poem, written in Macapat metre, may be described in the following manner.

The hero of the poem is Raden Saputra. He began his chivalrous career by fighting against tigers. On one occasion, he entered a yard, which, as the story says, was haunted by ghosts and wild spirits, and his entrance there was regarded by them as amounting to trespass. He unsheathed his sword and began to fight vehemently against the spirits of the air. There he fell asleep and the beautiful form of his beloved Devi Ratna Manik bloomed in his vision. The latter, in her turn, was also dreaming of our young hero. Ultimately, Raden Saputra saw her as she was bathing and the episode happily ended in a decent nuptial ceremony.

3 In the poem *Ajar Pikatan*² which belongs to the Pañji-cycle, the same characteristic is brought into prominence. Ajar Pikatan, who is the hero of the poem and son of queen Paṇḍan Salas, while going out on a hunting excursion, was separated from his retinue. While moving about in the garden of Paṇḍan Ukir, he saw the vidyādhari Suprabhā bathing and, like Rājapāla, he concealed her *sisimping*. At last she got it back and after giving a ring to the young

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 70; *Ibid.*, dl. II, p. 111; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sasak. Hss.*, 1912, pp. 130-131; Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, dl. III, p. 296; cf. also Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, p. 417; *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, dl. 71, p. 576.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 212-213.

hero the vidyādhari vanished from his sight. Ajar Pikatan, like other heroes of romances, travelled many lands in search of his beloved and married other damsels as well, but his heart was too captivated by Suprabhā to bear the company of his newly-married brides. At length he was informed by the bird Gaṇṭayu (Skt. Jaṭāyu) that Suprabhā was in *surālaya* or heaven. Though *Cod.* 4010 (1) of this work, upon which we rely, is not complete, it appears from the drift of the poem that they were united in the long run.

We shall close our survey of this subject with a brief review of the poem called *Pañji Margasmara*.¹ It begins with the story of Candrasari, princess of Singa Sekar, who once saw the *patiḥ* of Majalangu, named Pañji Margasmara, bathing and spontaneously she fell in love with him. The poet describes in the third canto how her love was returned by the young hero. After many difficulties, he succeeded in obtaining her and a daughter was born to them (cantos IX—XIX).

A series of written and unwritten romances of this type are current in South-East Asia and a mistaken notion of what constitutes culture and science is throwing many such legends into eternal oblivion.

Let us now take up the second point which we may conveniently designate 'the dream-motif' in romantic literature. In the stories of Indo-Mal-Polynesia, this trait has acquired more importance than the fore-going one. Among classical works of Ancient India, we find this characteristic marvellously portrayed in the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu, in which we find Kandarpaketu, son of king Cintāmani, dreaming towards dawn, when true dreams come, of a girl of eighteen of exquisite form. Like Pañji he went in search of the maiden and, while passing a restless night on the Vindhya Mountain, he gathered from the talk of a *mainā*-bird that *Vāsavadattā* was the only daughter of Śṛṅgāra-śekhara, king of Pāṭaliputra. The princess also, like Ratna

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 227; cf. also the poem *Puspakṛma* in *Ibid.*, dl. II, p. 111.

Manik and other heroines of Indonesia, dreamt of a stalwart knight of exceptional beauty and, though there was no Gaṅgaspati, she had her confidant Tamālikā, who united the two lovers at Pāṭaliputra. Similarly, in the *Śvapnavāsavadattā*,¹ attributed to Bhāsa, we find the story of Vatsarāja, who dreamt of his beloved Vāsavadattā, while asleep. In the *Kāthāsaritsāgarah* of Somadeva, we find numerous stories of this type. We can describe only a typical case, in the language of Somadeva :² "Then she (Ūṣā) saw in a dream a certain man looking like a divine prince. She was married to him according to the Gandharva form of marriage, and after obtaining the joy of union with him, she woke up at the close of the night. When she did not see the husband she had seen in her dream, but beheld the traces of his presence, she remembered the book of Gaurī, and was full of disquietude, fear and astonishment she confessed all to her friend Citralekhā" who asked Ūṣā to find out her lover from "the whole world, gods, asuras and men." This story also occurs in the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*.³ Similar dream-motifs have controlled the movements of heroes and heroines in the first Act of the *Viddhaśālabhāñjikā* and in the third Act of the *Karpūramañjarī*, both of which have been written by Rājasekhara. Many such romances are current in the Deccan, the Pañjāb, Bengal and other places of India. Some are recorded in the *Old Deccan Days* of Frere, *Legends of the Pañjāb* of Temple, *Folk-tales of Hindusthān* of Crooke and in stories compiled by Mr. D. R. Mitra-Majumdār in his *Thākurmār Jhulī* and *Thākurdādār Jholā*. Thus we read of :

"Kucavaraṇ rājakanyā, meghavaraṇ cul
Śvapne dekhilām āmi kon deśer phul"

["The princess has as beautiful a complexion as that of a Kuca-seed and her hair matches the colour of clouds !

1 Act V.

2 Translated by Tawney, vol. I, pp. 276-277.

3 *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, Part V, Chap. 32.

Oh, tell me, of which country the flower bloomed in my dream.”]

Bengali heroes and heroines sometimes roam like Pañji and Amahi-raras throughout the length and the breadth of the wide world for discovering the lovers of their dreams. Frequently, the desperate lovers, like those of the *Arabian Nights*, are united by some mischievous fairies only to be separated later on. This unaccountable separation breaks the heart of many and if they do not take to asceticism one of them frequently falls ill. The other or one of his friends occasionally comes in as a doctor to cure the disease, which is removed by his or her presence or the news of the other lover.¹ Sometimes we find that even the mere description of an exquisite princess makes a Bengali hero undertake the journey to unknown and untraversed regions. When the *hirāmon*-bird,² for example, said to the six queens of the king, “The beauty of not one of you can be compared to the beauty of the little toe of the lady that lives beyond the seven oceans and thirteen rivers,” the king desirous of possessing this paragon of beauty harnessed his horse, which “shot through the air with the speed of lightning, passed over many countries, kingdoms and empires, crossed the oceans and thirteen rivers and alighted in the evening at the gate of a beautiful palace.” No rein was put to the imagination of the poet which soared as high as the magic steed of the king.

In the legends and romances of Indonesia, the dream-motif has also assumed considerable importance. Thus we read of a princess of Rum, who “dreams that she slept with Pañji, and waking up is much distressed and dies.”³ So far as we are aware, there are not many

1 Cf. The ‘Story of Prince Sobur’ in *Folk-tales of Bengal*. Some others are recorded in Mr. D. R. Mitra-Majumdār’s compilations.

2 Lal Behari De, *Folk-tales of Bengal*, pp. 209 ff.

3 C. O. Blagden, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European languages belonging to the Library of the India office*, Vol. I, pt. I, 1916, p. 31.

stories in India with such pathetic conclusion. In the story called *Pañji Jaya Lenghara*,¹ we read of one Bambang Sutirta, who, in his dream, fell in love with Sekar Taji or Candra Kiraṇa, princess of Mamenang (Kediri), beloved of Pañji. Similarly, Devi Pandan Sari and Devi Manik Ara, in the romance of *Angling Darma*,² saw their lovers in dream. Even demons have not escaped from the sweep of love, which took form in their sleep. Thus in the story called *Lampahan Srikaṇḍi guguru manah*,³ we find the demon-king of Parang Jong Louttan, Mraja Ditya Kalamurka by name, being fascinated by the beauty of Srikaṇḍi even in dream! In the romance of Jaka Prataka⁴ and the Chinese princess Cuviri, the same factor has also controlled their love-adventures. In a Sundanese prose-work, called *Carita Panggung Mantri*,⁵ the king of Gunung Sungging, Prabu Bengker Pakuvan by name, sent his Mantri to find out the princess of Gunung Bubut, named Ratna Pakuvan, as she had ensnared him in dream! This *motif* has also penetrated into the so-called Muslim literature of Java. In the poem called *Kampar*,⁶ written in Macapat metre, princess Retna Jinali of Bragedab (Bagdad) dreamt of a beautiful youth, who was no other than Ambya Katamsi. After converting her to Islam, the latter married the girl in due course. Similarly, in the work called *Anbya Jusuf*,⁷ we read of one Kusuma Siti Jaleka, the beautiful daughter of the Sultan of Temas, who dreamt of her would-be husband living in Egypt. This dream-motif has also exercised some influence on the literature of Madura. In the poem called *Suksma Jati*,⁸ Devi Ruherat dreamt of a handsome knight, who later on appeared to be Suksma Jati, hailing from Jasmane. After some romantic adventures, they were united in marriage.

1 Vreede, *Cat. van de Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, 1892, pp. 159-160.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 196.

5 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bul. Sasak. Hss.*, 1912, p. 54.

6 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 34.

7 Vreede, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-31.

8 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 35.

It is clear therefore that this dream-*motif* has exercised a great influence on the romantic literature of Indo-Mal-Polynesia. Portraits have their toll also. In Sanskrit literature, we read of Agnimitra who fell in love with Mālavikā just after seeing her portrait.¹ The courtesy was returned by a member of the opposite sex, *viz.*, princess Rūpalatā of Mukti, who was fascinated by a sketch of Pṛthivīdhara.² But this point, we believe, did not assume importance in the early romantic literature of South-East Asia. In the Pañji romances again we face a different *motif*, with the heroine vanishing from her palace.³ Adventures of heroes are necessarily introduced to spin out the thread of the story. This trait is also present in the romances of Ancient India and of Medieval Europe. In spite of the closer contact of Asia and Europe in the days of the crusades, it would not be wise perhaps to accept this characteristic as a connecting link of the romances of the two continents. The unity of the human mind between and the obvious necessity of such traits in the romances of all lands are perhaps responsible for their evolution. As regards the curse-*motif*, responsible authorities hold it to be a distinct contribution of the Epic and the Paurāṇic literature of India and there is no reason to strike a different note. Two sages of old, *viz.*, Durvāsā and Viśvāmitra have liberally cursed many persons, thus enabling Brāhmaṇa editors and writers to proclaim the supremacy of the priestly hierarchy. This has naturally led to the growth of some beautiful legends which we find scattered in many works of Ancient India. We have already described some *ḥawi*-works which betray this characteristic. This trait was probably borrowed in different romantic cycles

1 Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act. I.

2 Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, Tr. Tawney, 1880, vol. I, p. 385.

3 Cf. Rassers, *De Pañji Roman*, pp. 36, 37, 44, 99, 109, 112, etc.; Jwynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en. Mal. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 262, etc.; Vreede, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 167, 170, etc.

of Indonesia through the earlier works of Java and Bali, which represented the influence of ancient Indian literature. Taking disguises of various men, beasts, demons, etc., may be due to faith in magicism and superstitions, and as such, this peculiarity, though present in the literature of India and Indonesia, may not be taken as a connecting link between the legends and romances of South-East Asia. Other traits, which we have mentioned before, will be treated in the next chapter.

Among the stories of Java and Bali none are more popular than the Pañji-romances, which we may describe now. Pañji is the hero of these poems, which deal with different phases of Pañji's life, such as, his love to the heroine, the loss of his consort, her transformation to a man and so forth. Of the many Middle-Javanese Pañji-poems in Tengahan-metre, *Malat* appears to be the most important. It is the source of later Javanese and Malay Pañji-poems. According to Dr. Van der Tuuk, "Of the three poems, viz., *Malat*, *Waseng*, and *Wangbong Wideha*, and the heroes and heroines occurring in them, they resemble more the Malay tales belonging to the Pañji-cycles than the modern Javanese poems treating of the same subject."¹ As these works are of the same character, we shall begin our review with an account of the *Waseng*,² which has also been written in Tengahan metre.

The prince of Kling, so the story relates, was Wiranamatami, who fell in love with Amahi-raras, the princess of Kediri. As she was the most accomplished beauty of all lands, her hand was asked in marriage by the king of Magadha. Perceiving that Wiranamatami lay in the way of his desires, the king of Magadha had recourse to a trick, by which he succeeded in kidnapping the sleeping prince of Kling and sending him to Magadha. As he was invulnerable, he was thrown into water where he remained for ten days without dying. The surging

1 *J.R.A.S.*, New Series, XIII, p. 52.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 208 ff.

waves cast him ashore, and he was discovered there by the princess of Kediri. He now stayed on to Kediri under the assumed name of Huṇḍakan Wasengsari and lived "in the vicinity of the beloved one, who was not aware of his being the prince of Koripan." In song II is stated how the kings of Magadha, Putrasena and Pawon-awon, marched against Daha (Kediri) to take away forcibly the princess of Kediri. Waseng thus found an opportunity to show his gratitude by killing these kings, who were his former enemies. After this, the poet introduces us to the two lovers again, Waseng and Amahi-raras, who passionately loved each other. We read in song III that their marriage proposal could not substantiate on account of the sudden invasion of the king of Wīrabhūmi, who fell on Daha. During the confusion of the war, Amahi-raras vanished. Waseng, who was away during the turmoils of the war, fell into a swoon when he heard of the fate of his beloved. In the following song, however, we find Amahi-raras seeking shelter with a monk. In his hermitage she came across the king of Geglang, who gave protection to the unfortunate girl. She assumed the name of Amahilara to befit her present position. Meanwhile, Waseng had been out to discover the princess of Daha and overthrew kings and kingdoms in his progress from country to country under the pseudo-name of Pañji Tamasah. He married the daughters of the overthrown kings. The hand of Amahilara was also promised to him by the king of Geglang as a reward for his unparalleled chivalry (cantos V and VI). On one occasion, while Amahilara was singing favourite songs she used to sing in Daha, the notes seemed familiar to Pañji Tamasah, who fell into a swoon. Pañji became seriously ill and in remorse, Amahilara wanted to commit suicide. The tragedy was, however, averted by the timely arrival of the king of Daha, who discovered that Waseng and Pañji Tamasah were one and the same and that Amahilara is no other than his own lost daughter. The liveliness of reconciliation was further increased by the leakage of the information that Waseng, again, was no other than Wiranamatami, the prince of

Koripan (Kling), who had disappeared long ago. The epilogue (Song VII) describes the marriage of the royal pair and the birth of a son.

The *Wangbong Wideha* also belongs to the Pañji-cycle of stories and is no less popular than the *Waseng*. It describes¹ how Makaradhvaja went in search of the banished princess of Daha named Warāstrasari. In his aimless travels throughout many lands he came across the lovely princess of Singhasari named Keśavatī, whom he married. But he never forgot for a moment the beautiful lady of Daha whom he wanted to discover at any cost. Meanwhile, Warāstrasari was roving in the woods of Kembang Kuning, where she was found by the prince of that kingdom, named Singamātra. He kindly led her to Daha again and married her, though her heart was already sealed in love for Makaradhvaja ! When Makaradhvaja was informed of all these affairs he assumed the name of Wangbong Wideha Pañji Wireśvara and went to Daha, where he became a *ḍalang*² and showed some shadow-plays, of which *Ghaṭot-kaçāśraya* was one. In these plays, the princess used to come and she was gradually attracted by the magnificent bearing of the *ḍalang* and his expert handling of the shadow-plays. They fell in love with each other. The last two Songs (II and III) state how the king of Daha was hard pressed by the kings of Lasem and others, and how he was relieved by Wangbong Wideha who slew four kings of the invading hosts. At length he escorted Warāstrasari to Koripan where he married her in due course. The disappointed prince Singamātra who loved the princess of Daha now married the princess of Lasem. This is the subject-matter of the *Wangbong Wideha*. The poems belonging to the Pañji-cycle of stories, though beautiful in their own way, do not represent an unflinching devotion of the one for the other.

The *Smarawedana* is also of some importance and it runs into eighteen cantos. The beginning of the story reminds

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 205 ff.

2 One who shows shadow-plays.

one of the Bengali folk-tales of a certain ape-prince, who used to cast off his monkey-disguise by night. The wife of this ape was also a princess, who, discovering it on one occasion, availed the very first opportunity of destroying it by the fire. People were amazed to find next morning that the ape was the most beautiful prince on earth. This story, though materially differing from the remaining portion of the *Smarawedana*, is very much popular in Bengal.¹ It may be noted in this connexion that the kernel of this story also reminds one of the Sundanese *Siyung Wanara*, the *Lutung Kasarung* legends and the Sasak version of the *Tutur Monjeh*.² If it is not of Austric origin, the story may have proceeded from Bengal.

The Javanese story of the *Smarawedana* runs as follows:—

The first canto of the book informs us that a white ape³ was born to the king of Janggala (Koripan) and he was ultimately banished from the country. This incident almost synchronized with the disappearance of Sukşmasari, the princess of Daha. On one occasion, while she was passing her time in a garden, she saw a glittering object and, as she pursued it, it faded further and further. No one knew whither she had gone. An array of knights began to search all possible and impossible quarters and Citradana, the

1 Similar stories are narrated by C. H. Bompas in *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, 1909, pp. 254-256; also *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, vol. XXI, pp. 380-382; Bompas, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-232. Similarly, Banjak Catra put on an ape-costume and was introduced to the princess of Pasir Luhur, from whose hand only the ape would take meals. To her, he disclosed his identity. Vide, Vreede, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. 71, p. 573; *Ibid.*, 7th Series V, pp. 17 ff.

3 Chinese annals write, "Curious animals are the white stag and the white monkey." Vide Groenveltdt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 49. Hanumān is also described as white ape in Indonesia; cf. also Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Sund. Bal. Sasak. Hss.*, pp. 48-49.

prince of Geglang, joined their ranks. Citradharma, the prince of Jagaraga, also went to find her out. At about the same time, Citrayuddha and Citraveda, princes of Mamenang and Pawon-awon, disappeared from their countries.

The second canto opens with the arrival of the monkey-prince of Janggala at the court of Paṇḍan Salas, who wanted to make him his son-in-law. Bereft of his ape-disguise at the time of bathing, he appeared as a full-fledged prince and married both the daughters of the king, *viz.*, Amṛtamaya and Kṛtamaya. Songs III-VIII refer to the kings who were either killed or defeated by Wirātmaka, the name now assumed by the prince of Janggala. The daughters of these kings were married by him. He again assumed the name of *Smarawedana* and married Mṛtaningrat, the princess of Geglang (canto IX). Fights and marriages of other knights are described in Songs X—XIII, while a vivid description of marriage-feasts is given in cantos XIV and XV. The following Song (XVI) informs us that the king of Janggala (Koripan) sent a message to Geglang stating his intention to take to asceticism for getting a son. The messenger learnt that Wirātmaka was the prince of Janggala and there was no reason why the king should resort to penances. Meanwhile, Wirātmaka eloped from Geglang with Antasari (Song XVII), whereupon the king of that dominion sent Rudrakara and Sudanamṛta to Pranaraga with instructions to kill Wirātmaka and bring back the princess. The king of Koripan appeared at the right moment and the melancholy tone of the story is relieved by the description of marriage-ceremony (Song XVIII).

The *Mantri Wadaḥ*¹, *Menur Wilis*² and the *Misa Gagang*³ fall under the same category. The first work is of very modern date and many Balinese words have penetrated into it. In recent years the researches of Dr. Poerbatjaraka and Dr. Rassers have brought the problems of the

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 195.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 197.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Pañji-romances into the forefront and some of them we have sought to discuss above. The cycle is the product of many generations and much exotic element has been mixed up with it. From the various names and pseudo-names of the hero and the heroine, such as Rawi-sarangga, Candrakiraṇa, Candrasari, Nawang Wulan, one may conjecture that the ultimate source of the Pañji-romance is the Sun and the Moon-myth. It is possible that in its earliest form the legend was purely a Moon-myth which was gradually mixed up with an exotic Sun-myth.¹ A strong sexual drift was introduced into the romance by the latter. Thus Pañji, seeking his beloved Candrakiraṇa, is just like the Sun, which, according to Mythology, riding on his seven horses, ever pursues the vanishing Moon. One special feature is that both the main players of the romance were born just on the fourteenth, when the full-Moon graced the nocturnal sky. When Indra Kāmajaya and his sister Nila Keñcana, for example, were born, it thundered, mild wind blew, the rainbow appeared in the sky, flowers scattered their odour, the Moon suffered an eclipse and, in the morning, the two babies were born as beautiful as the Sun and the Moon.² Such descriptions recur in many places of the Pañji-romances.

If the above statements are accepted, we must admit that the pure Indonesian form of many of these stories was mixed up with foreign elements in course of time. Not only over-sea kings, including those of Golconda, Tanjore, Gujrat, Bengal, etc.,³ are referred to in many places, but vivid descriptions of *Svayaṃvaras* are given here and there. In the *Cekelwanengpati* occurs the *Svayaṃvaras* of Candrakiraṇa and this is conditioned by her obtaining a gold-horned deer, which betrays the influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The names of *Arend Jantaju* and *Kelana Wira Nonoman* are clearly borrowed from the well-known Sanskrit names of the bird *Jaṭāyu* and *Hanumān*. Sometimes we find parallels, which do not revert to Sanskrit originals, but to their later

1 Cf. Rassers, *De Pandji Roman*, pp. 187 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

stream, which came from Southern India to Java *via* Malay peninsula in a noticeably changed form.¹ Influences of the *Mahābhārata* are not less prominent. In the same work, the king of Keling, who wanted to marry his son to Candrakirana, is described as a scion of the Pāṇḍavas.² The names of Astina (Hastinā), Pamade (Arjuna), etc., are referred to in many romances and they are equally significant. Similarly, the princes and princesses of Koripan and Daha are described as incarnations of Arjuna and Januvatī (Jāmbavatī?),³ Samba (Śāmba) and Subadra (Subhadrā). The names of Kāma, Rati, Indra, Nārada and others are also scattered in many writings.

It is noteworthy that these romances are also distantly connected with the history of Java. A better knowledge of Old-Javanese literature and history may possibly throw further light on the significance of the Pañji-romances. The names of four or five kingdoms, which we come across in these writings, are hopelessly confusing in different versions. It is amusing to record that four kingdoms, *viz.*, Koripan, Daha, Geglang and Singhasari are described as contemporaneous with Majapahit on the one hand and Meḍang Kamulan on the other.⁴ As Rassers observes, these names which are represented as separate units are known from history to be as good as synonymous. In a sense they are indeed so. For we know from our study of Old-Javanese history that the supremacy of Kediri (Daha) passed on to Singhasari, which in its turn made room for Majapahit. These kingdoms covered the Eastern regions of Java and sometimes extended beyond it. It is not impossible that the original Pañji-myth evolved through the times of supremacy of these various kingdoms and these references are but suggestions of the long history of its evolution. In course of

1 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, dl. LIV, 1902, p. 546.

2 Rassers, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

3 In the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, (XIII, 14) she is the wife of Kṛṣṇa and mother of Śāmba.

4 Rassers, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

time, when the memories of these kingdoms were faded enough, there began the confusion of geographical names.

Dr. Rassers has started a novel theory that the oldest kernel of the Pañji-romance goes back to the totemism of an exogamous society, which "must once have existed" in Java. He asserts further that the Javanese stage has also evolved from a totemistic rite.¹ And accordingly, he has sought to interpret the old tribal organisations of primitive Java with their exogamous marriage relations in the light of the Pañji-romances. It is here that we are compelled to part company with Dr. Rassers. We do so with much diffidence, but we are glad to see that we are not alone in our objection, for a writer under the initials of T. J. B.² has lately raised some objections to his theory and has anticipated some of our arguments. Dr. Rassers has seen totems and sub-totems in *batik-patrons*, *kris-forms* and in *pamor-motives* and has drawn an analogy between the Javanese Kris and the Australian *Churinga*.³ According to Dr. J.G. Fraser, "A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate, and altogether special relation."⁴ Dr. Rassers,⁵ on the other hand, regards *essential identity* of groups of persons with materials as a necessary factor in totemism. Mr. T. J. B.⁶ pertinently remarks that the definition of Dr. Rassers is not supported by the cases of New Guinea⁷ and other parts of Indonesia. As a matter of fact Dr. Rassers has not explicitly des-

1 Rassers, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

2 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, V, *Supplement*, p. 397.

3 Rassers, *op. cit.*, pp. 341, 364, 365, etc.

4 *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. I, 1910, p. 1.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

7 Cf. also Fraser, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II, 1910, p. 25. For totemism in Melanesia, Samoa, Sumatra, etc., See *Ibid.*, pp. 96-217.

cribed the period when the so-called totemistic groups, for which the analogy has to be procured from a far-flung continent, held sway over Java. The complicated Pañji-romances upon which he has relied first come to our view in the best days of Indo-Javanese culture ; they have then glided down to later period of Javanese history. Was not the period, in which we find them, one of advanced civilisation? And how could the totemistic manner of thinking of a hoary past exert such a deciding influence on the later literature, which thereby assumed definite form? Besides, what is the guarantee that every later writer of a new Pañji-story should comprehend the so-called totemistic motive of these stories and manipulate them in accordance with the requirements of totemism, which, if at all present, must have been forgotten or totally re-oriented during the long centuries of Indian contact? Under such circumstances we are inclined to believe that the kernel of the Pañji-romances is a Nature-myth and has nothing to do with totemism and exogamy.

Pañji-stories are known for centuries in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Lombok, Borneo, Celebes, Cambodia, Siam and some other places of the Archipelago. But the true character of Pañji remains as vague as ever. His real name (Pañji being a surname) signifies a horse, and it is curious that he should accept a name which would identify him with a lower animal. In India, the term means, 'almanac'. If a conjecture can be hazarded, he is the Sun riding on horse, ever pursuing his beloved, the vanishing Moon.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TANTRI KĀMANDAKA AND OTHER BEAST-FABLES.

(A) *The Tantri Kāmandaka.*

Unlike the stories dealt with in the previous chapter, the *Tantri Kāmandaka* has a distinct ethical background, which marks it out from other legends and romances. It is closely connected with the well-known fable-books of ancient India, viz., the *Pañcatantram* and the *Hitopadeśaḥ*. According to the computation of Prof. Hertel,¹ the *Pañcatantram* has at least two hundred different versions in more than fifty languages and three-fourths of these languages are not Indian. Indeed the strongest obstacles, those of language, custom and religion, have not been able to check its triumphal progress. The fable-book crossed the limits of India at least in the sixth century A.D., when it was translated into Pahlavi by the physician Burzuyeh in collaboration with the Indian scholar Vuzūrjamehar during the reign of the celebrated Sassanide king Khusru Anusirwan (531-579 A.D.).² An Old-Syriac translation of this last work was made by Būd, apparently about 570 A.D. The Pahlavi version was again rendered into Arabic by Abdulla ibn al-Moqaffa by orders of the Caliph al-Manṣūr in the middle of the eighth century A.D. under the title of *Kalila and Dimnah*, of which a Malay recension exists. In the following century, Sultan Mahammad Ghazi commanded the preparation of a fresh Arabic version of the book. In the Far East too, we find Siamese and Laotian recensions in Cochin China, where *Tantri* is known as *Tantrai*, *Tantai*, *Tantaiya* (and

¹ *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 451 ff.

² Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, pp. 149-150; Hertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 ff.

Kantray).¹ In Indonesia the subject-matter of the *Pañcatantram* is distributed over at least twelve different recensions, of which the oldest three are written in a sort of Old-Javanese, several in the Balinese, two in the New-Javanese and two others in Madurese.² The last-mentioned nine versions are very young and, for our purpose, it is not necessary to describe them in detail. Our attention will be mainly directed to the *Tantri*-group, which is formed by the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, *Tantri Kediri* (B) and the *Tantri Demung* (A).

In Java, the recension beginning with the Demung-metre is the most popular one. Cod. 4541 of this work has been written in Balinese character and it contains some Buddhist stories also.³ It is divided into five cantos containing 17 fables in 399 verses. The *Tantri Kediri* (B) appears to have been derived from a different source⁴ and is not free from what we may call Balinism. This is less popular, but more modern than the rest. It contains some fables which do not come in the *Demung*-recension. Dr. Van der Tuuk⁵ doubts the genuineness of both these recensions. He says further, "The latter *Tantri Kediri*).....contains even Portuguese words (*miñu*, e.g., a kind of beverage, is evidently=*vinho*). This version has but few tales, such as that of the deer, the mouse, the crow and the pigeon king, in common with the *Hitopadeśaḥ* and the *Pañcatantram*. But the pigeon king is here called Kaṇḍaguna, the crow Hugata, the deer Tuṅgapa and the mouse, Hiraṇyākta, the tortoise has no special name. The hunter is called Haṣṭakrama." Regarding the two versions, the *Tantri Kediri* (B) and *Tantri Demung* (A), he says again, "In the story of the

1 Ed. Dr. C. Hooykaas, *Tantri Kāmandaka*, *Bibliotheca Javanica*, no. 2, Introd., p. 5.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, pp. 244 ff.

4 Van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balin. Wdb.*, dl. II, p. 578.

5 *J.R.A.S., New Series*, XIII, p. 45.

grateful animals the name of the ungrateful goldsmith is Wenuka in (B), whereas in (A) and the *Kāmandaka* it is Suvarṇaṅkara."¹ The *Tantri Kediri* (B) runs into four cantos with 515 verses and is therefore more voluminous than the *Demung*-recension. As a matter of fact the former contains 11 fables more than the latter.² The third recension is in prose and is known as the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, its language is older than that of the other two. Some of its stories end or are interspersed with Sanskrit verses which we find again in the *Pañcatantram*. We shall discuss this recension particularly because besides being the oldest and the best preserved, it contains many fables from the *Hitopadeśaḥ* and the *Pañcatantram* and like them, it is written in prose.

Dr. Hooykaas has observed already that moral maxims in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* are not written in *Pāli*. There are doubtless some Sanskrit verses, but generally speaking they have been more or less corrupted. The work betrays some Tāntric influences and the references to *Tantra-vākya*, *Tantra-kathā* and *Tantra-carita* in several places are significant. The heroine of the story is Tantri, who was so called "since she knew the Tantras." Dr. Hooykaas³ remarks that the Sanskrit formation of the name should have been Tanṭṛṇī and that in the present state of our knowledge there is no means to discover the source of this name. The name of Kāmandaka also raises a problem. It has been well conjectured that this name was introduced at a later period, because, the colophon of the work runs "*Iti Caṇḍapīṅgala samāpta, Tantri-carita, Tantra-vākya*" and there is no reference to his name. Kāmandaka was an ancient author on Sanskrit *Rājanīti* and his name was well-known in Java as well as in India. In a Burmese

1 *J.R.A.S., New Series, XIII, p. 45.*

2 Juynboll, *suppl. Cat. Jav. en Ned. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 239 ff.

3 *Op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 7. 4 *Op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. 6.

inscription¹ of 1442 A. D., we find a list of 230 works, in which No. 202 is *Kāmandakī* and apparently it is identical with the *Kāmandakī Nitisāra*. Dr. Bode writes, "The wise fables of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeśaḥ* have also found favour with the Buddhists" of Burma.² Some of the *Tantri*-recensions, however, mention one Basubhāga³ who appears as a moraliser at the end of many stories. A Canarese version also knows one Durgasiṃha Vasubhāga. This seems to connect the Javanese work with some South Indian recensions of the *Pañcatantram*. The occurrence of Pāli verses in the Laotian *Pañcatantra* on the other hand, suggests that the source of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* cannot be derived from that work of further India, where Pāli and Buddhism were still flourishing. This also takes us back to S. India. But the value of this supposition is weakened by our not getting the work of Vasubhāga and as such, the whole question should be held to be an open one. The introduction, however, yields more promising data and we can probably enunciate on their basis that there existed in ancient India another version of the *Pañcatantram*, which was different from Viṣṇuśarmā's. As this introduction of the *Tantri* mentions Samudragupta, the original of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* was, in all likelihood, composed after 400 A.D.

The opening section of the work under review reminds one of the *Thousand and One nights*. Both these books have not only emboxed stories as their ground plan, but they also have in common the story of a king who wanted a virgin every night to satisfy his lust. Like Shahrazād and Duniyāzād, *Tantri* wove story after story and succeeded in putting off the fateful following morning by the charm of her unfinished stories. In the

1 M. H. Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, 1909, Chap. III, App. p. 101 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

3 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 130.

Tantri Kāmandaka, the place of king Shahriyār has been occupied by Aiśvaryapāla otherwise known as Prabu Si Dara Patra, who has been described as a descendant of Samudragupta. The name of Aiśvaryapāla is as symbolical of his character as that of Tantri, which may mean 'thread of stories'. The capital of this king, as the story tells us, was Pāṭaliputra-nagara, in the land Jambudvīpa, in Śrī Larataṇḍa. The land lay to the south of the Himalayas and was pierced by the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. In the middle of these two rivers flourished the kingdom of Pāṭaliputra.¹ Now, the minister of this king, Niti Bandheśvarya, had the thankless task of procuring virgins of whom Tantri, his daughter, was the fortunate last victim. This section makes a notable departure from the parallel portion of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantram*, which introduces the subject with Viṣṇuśarmā and his dull pupils. Is it possible that the original recension had any such prologue, which was given up by Viṣṇuśarmā or Vasubhāga at any time after the reign of Samudragupta, when he felt the necessity of adapting the work for teaching purposes? In India there is no doubt the *Jain Legend of Kaṇayamañjarī*, "who retains for six months the undivided love of the king by the device of beginning a tale each night but not finishing it",² but it does not appear probable that such an obscure legend should exert a profound influence on the Tantri-literature of Indonesia. There are again no sufficient data for assuming that it borrowed the prologue from the *Thousand and One nights*, an Arabic Collection of which is stated to have been known in Egypt in the thirteenth century A.D.³ According to Mr. Lane,⁴ "Several nights were extant about 850 years ago." It is even possible

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

2 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 361.

3 *The Thousand and One nights*, Vol. III, p. 676, translated by E. W. Lane from the original Arabic.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 682. Cf. also *J.R.A.S.*, 1924, pp. 353 ff; *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 1 ff.

that the *Tantri Kāmandaka* combined Sanskrit and Arabic materials, of which the former supplied the frame-work and the latter the prologue. The on-rush of Islam had already begun in Indonesia and there is no wonder if the outline of this portion were suggested by the Arabic work. At any rate, the materials at our disposal are not sufficient for pronouncing a verdict on this point. The *Tantri Kāmandaka* is divided into six *sargas* and this one goes by the name of *vivāhasarga*.¹ Then follows the second *sarga* called *Nandakapraṅkārāṇa* after the bull Nandaka. The line of demarcation between the third and the fourth *sarga* is not very clear. The latter *sarga* is called *Sambaddha-śṛgāla-sangsarga*, *Gajadruma-carita*, *Atat-ucarāṇa*. The fifth one goes by the name of *Nandaka-praṅkārāṇa*, *Sambaddha-śṛgalāsana*. The sixth or the last *sarga* ends with, 'Iti Sambaddha-carita, *Haṅśa-kūrma-sangsarga*, *udākaraṇa*, *seṣṭi sangsarga*.' The story is spun further in *Cod.* 4534, which ends with, 'Iti *Caṇḍapiṅgala samāpta*, *Tantri-carita*, *Tantra-vākya*.'

The first story told by *Tantri* was that of the bull Nandaka, who was so heavily laden by the *Brāhmaṇa Dharmasvāmī* that he escaped to *Ujjayinī* in the land of *Malwa*. When the story, which was told in detail, proceeded a bit further, the night was far advanced and so the story had to be left unfinished.² Early next morning the king informed *Niti Bandheśvarya* that he was eager to hear the full text of the *Tantri-carita* which contained 390 stories. The following night the story was continued by *Tantri* who described the friendship of *Caṇḍapiṅgala* and the bull Nandaka. The former was greatly frightened as he heard the bull roaring like thunder. When his *Patih*, the jackal *Sambaddha*, related to him the story of jackals who rent asunder a drum to find where the sound came from and naturally saw nothing,³ the lion became less apprehensive and made

1. Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-61.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-79.

3. Cf. *Pañcatantra*, 1/2.

friendship with the bull.¹ Tantri then related how the jackal succeeded at last in estranging both and how they killed each other after a dreadful fight. The framework of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, the *Pañcatantram* and the *Kalila and Dimnah* is therefore the same. It is noteworthy, however, that in the *Pañcatantra*-version of the story, we find Sañjivaka and Piṅgalaka as the name of the bull and the lion respectively. Evidently the name of Nandaka has been derived from a different source, while that of the lion is not phonetically much changed. The former name occurs in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*.² It suggests confusion of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśaḥ* materials. The names of the two jackals, viz., Karaṭaka and Damanaka, have been changed into *Kalila and Dimnah* in the Malay and Arabic recensions. In the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, their place has been occupied by the jackal Sambaddha. The framework of the *Pañcatantram* (and hence, of some other recensions) has probably been depicted on the reliefs at Caṇḍi Jago. In the first terrace, according to Dr. Brandes,³ we find a lion, opposite which sit two jackals. To the south of this scene, we see a fight between the lion and a bull, behind each of which sits a jackal. The remaining portion has been badly damaged, but it suggests the feast they subsequently made. In the place of two jackals, the *Tantri Kāmandaka* has only one. If the interpretation of Dr. Brandes were to be accepted it would follow that the tradition of the artist was derived from a source not identical with that of the *Tantri Kāmandaka*. This will be clear as we proceed.

Then follows the emboxed tale of Gajadruma, king of Kauśāmbīnagara and two peacocks. This was narrated by the jackal Sambaddha.⁴ It describes how the king permitted his wife to kill four of his faithful ministers. He however came across a peacock belonging to a Śavara or

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-95.

2 Cf. *Hitopadeśaḥ* 2/1.

3 *Tjandi Djago*, p. 67, photo nos. 70 and 69.

4 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-107.

hunter and another belonging to a hermit, whose speeches made a deep impression on his mind. This fable also occurs in the *Demung*-recension of the *Tantri*. The jackal Sambaddha is also the narrator of the following story which describes the fable of a tortoise and the two swans.¹ They lived in the lake of Kumudvatī. The name of the swan was Cakrāṅga, while his wife was known by the name of Cakrāṅgī. The tortoise had also a name—he was called Durbuddhi, while his wife bore the name of Kacchapā. In the *Hitopadeśaḥ* and the *Pañcatantram*, the name of the tortoise appears as Kambugrīva. His wife's name does not occur in these Sanskrit works. The name of the lake, however, appears in the *Hitopadeśaḥ* as *Phullotpala*, which tallies with the idea lying behind the Javanese name. Again, the place of Cakrāṅga and Cakrāṅgī of the *Tantri Kāmandaka* is occupied by Saṅkaṭa and Vikaṭa in the above-mentioned Sanskrit works. Now as the dry season appeared, the two pairs of swans and tortoises settled to fly off to Mānasāra and not, as in the Sanskrit works, to some unnamed lakes. The two tortoises contrived to cling to a stick held by the swans in their beaks and thus by the power of their wings they shot aloft. When they came above the field of Vilaṅgala, they saw two jackals below, Nohan and Babyan by name, who belonged to two opposite sexes. The manner of death of the tortoises is identical in these recensions. In the Sanskrit works, however, the captors are different. In the *Pañcatantram*, they are *Paurāḥ* or citizens, in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*, they are herdsmen.

This fable was very popular in Java and it has been represented on reliefs in different temples. At Caṇḍi Jago² we find one swan carrying two tortoises. Opposite them are two dogs or jackals, probably jackals, who are very

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-117; *cf.* also *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 4/2; *Kathāsaritsāgarah*, tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 37; *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/13. Vide also *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 1904, 292-293. *Cf.* also *Tijdschrift V.I.T.L.VK.*, 1894, pp. 27 ff, 127 ff, etc.

2 *Cf.* Brandes, *Tjandi Djago*, p. 70.

busy in killing the fallen tortoises. This outline differs from the *Tantri Kāmandaka* version of the story in respect of the number of swans. It also differs from both the above-noted Sanskrit works regarding the representation of the captors, who are other than citizens or herdsmen. The outline of this fable has also been depicted at Panataran. Dr. Krom¹ writes, "..... At Mendut, Barabudur's contemporary, we find the well-known story of the tortoise and the geese so depicted that on the same relief we see the tortoise being carried through the air on a pole and just below on the ground being killed by the captors."

In the *Tantri*-group, this fable also occurs in the *Demung*-recension.

After the above story was finished, Sambaddha began the fable of *tuma* and the flea.² The name of the *tuma* or louse was Asada who lived on the blood of a king. In the crevices of the wall, there was also a starving flea, Caṇḍila by name. In the *Pañcatantram*, the name of the latter appears as Agnimukha, while the *Kathāsaritsāgarah* calls him Ṭiṭṭibha. In course of time, the louse and the flea came to know each other and the former asked his new acquaintance to cautiously feed on the blood of the king. But he asked him not to be foolish like the heron who was killed by a crab. As the flea did not hear the advice of the louse and bit the king before he fell asleep, he paid the penalty with his life. This fable occurs not only in the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, but also in the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions.

An emboxed story to this began with the query of the flea who had asked the louse to relate the story of the heron and the crab.³ The louse said that there was a lake called Mālinī, which was margined by rows of fruitful

1 *Barabudur*, 1927, Vol. I, p. 177.

2 *Cf. Kathāsaritsāgarah*, tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 34; also *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/9; Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-121.

3 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 121ff.; *Hitopadeśah*, 4/7; *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/7; *cf. also Kathāsaritsāgarah*, tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 31.

trees. In the *Hitopadeśaḥ*, the name of the lake appears as Padmagarbha. In that lake lived many fish. As in the Sanskrit versions they were deluded by the sweet words of the heron. Pretending that he would carry them to the lake of Andavahana, the heron smashed them on a flat stone and made a heavy feast every time. At last, a crab discovered the trick. He ordered the heron to take him back to the lake Mālinī. On reaching the lake, the crab bit the neck of the heron till it was severed. In the *Pañcatantram* and the *Hitopadeśaḥ*, the name of the second lake does not occur. The return journey of the crab and the heron is not also told in the latter, though this occurs in the *Pañcatantram*. This fable is also related in the *Demung-recension*.¹ In place of it, the *Tantri Kediri (B)* has the story of water-birds and the cuckoo.²

Nandaka now enters the field as a story-teller. He relates the story of king Sewantara,³ who once went a-hunting. Being spent with thirst and hunger, he ordered Sewangara, whom he found near-by, to bring in water and fruits. The latter repaired to the sea-side and, to his utter astonishment, found an ape dancing in the middle of the sea. Frightened, he ran pell-mell to the king to report what he saw. The king came along with the servant to the sea-beach. He found nothing, because the ape was a Vidyādhara. Then he took the servant to task and killed him forthwith. This fable has also been incorporated in the *Kediri-recension*.⁴

Now follows the story of a she-ape, Vānarī by name(!), the daughter of Subuddhi. As the hunter Pāpaka was hotly chased by a tiger, she helped him to get upon a tree at the right moment. The tiger who remained at the foot of the tree suggested that Pāpaka might be treacherous to her like the unfaithful goldsmith. Thus begins a fresh

1 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. I, p. 245.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

3 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131.

4 Vide also *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. XVII, pp. 99-100; *I.H.Q.*, VII, pp. 516 ff.

emboxed story with the query of the she-ape Vānarī. In the *Kediri*-recension¹ the fable described above has been replaced by the story of the lion and the camel. The tale of the unfaithful goldsmith, related by the tiger,² also occurs in the Malay *Hikāiat Kalila and Dimnah*. It may be summarized as follows :—

There was once a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Sājñādharmā who set out for *tīrthas* in the dry season. Being thirsty, he went to a well, into which an ape, a tiger, a snake of the name of Vidyuta and a goldsmith had fallen. Though cautioned by the first three not to rescue the man, he dragged up all of them from the dry well. The tiger showed him his gratitude by offering him jewels and other ornaments that he had gathered after killing a prince. Similarly, the ape gave him some provisions and fruits to eat. As the Brāhmaṇa had no necessity for the ornaments, he thought of presenting them to the goldsmith, Suvarṇaṅkara by name, whom he had saved previously. So he repaired towards Madhura-Kling, where the goldsmith lived and gave him those valuable ornaments. When the whole affair was mischievously interpreted to the king, he brought the Brāhmaṇa from the bathing-place and threw him into a subterranean prison. Thus an opportunity appeared for the snake to show his gratitude. He bit the foot of prince Virasena. The imprisoned Brāhmaṇa came out and with the help of the snake cured the prince. As promised before, the Brāhmaṇa got half of the kingdom. The family of the goldsmith, on the other hand, was punished. This fable occurs not only in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* but also in the *Kediri*³ and the *Demung*⁴ recensions. Such stories of the ungrateful man and the grateful beast belong to the treasures of world-literature.

The above fable contains an embboxed story, which, as a measure of warning, was related to the goldsmith by his

1 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

2 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-145.

3 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 245.

wife and this may be described now. She related the tale of the ape Murdasa,¹ also known by the name of Anti, who resorted to hard penances for being as beautiful as the Vidyādhari Aṅgaraprāṇā (°parṇā?). A deity appeared and instructed Anti to take his bath seven times in a certain place. Wanting to surpass even Umā in beauty, he took more than seven baths and relapsed into the shape of the ape again. Similar stories are also current in India. Thus in the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*² we read how the sage Cyavana, bent double with age, came out in dazzling beauty of youth after taking bath from a lake. In the *Daśaśūmāracaritam* we find that Mantragupta, getting into the confidence of a foolish king, persuaded him to take bath in the sea so that he might acquire greater beauty. Similarly, in the popular *Story of Sukhu and Dukhu*,³ which is current in Bengal, we see how Dukhu became the most lovely maiden of all lands after taking a certain number of baths, while her cousin Sukhu, desirous of outrivalling Dukhu, became the ugliest of girls for exceeding the limit.

Let us now revert to the original story of the she-ape, the hunter Pāpaka and the tiger. The she-ape said that tigers were more thankless than others and in illustration thereof she narrated the story of a Brāhmaṇa,⁴ who, after finishing his Veda studies with Bṛhaspati, was returning to his own country. On the way, he came across a tiger who was bitten by a snake. Out of compassion for the noble creature, he uttered charms and thus removed the effects of poison. The ungrateful tiger however returned the service of the Brāhmaṇa by killing him. She incidentally remarked that in this respect crabs were better than tigers. Being asked why the

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-139.

2 *Mahābhārata*, III, 122-125; XII, 342; XIV, 9. This story is also related in some Purāṇas.

3 D. R. Mitra-Majumdār, *Thākurmār Jhuli*.

4 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-147.

she-ape spun a fresh story.¹ She said that there was once a Brāhmaṇa of the name of Dvijeśvara, who hailed from Pātāla. He saw on a certain mountain top a crab of the name of Aṣṭapāda whom he picked up to release in the water. When he fell asleep a snake and a crow, who were fast friends, laid their heads together to bring about the death of the Brāhmaṇa. The crab scenting their motives said that he could make their necks longer if they came near him and this, the crab contended, would enable them to feed on the Brāhmaṇa. As they lay to his left and right side, he speedily cut off their heads with his sharp bite. This fable occurs not only in the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, but also in the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions.

As a retort to the foregoing story, the tiger narrated the fable of apes and weaver-birds,² who lived as neighbours. The apes remained on branches of trees, while the birds lived in beautiful nests. Being jeered at for their incapacity to build dwelling places, the apes destroyed all vestiges of the nests of the weaver-birds. This story not only occurs in the above three recensions of the *Tantri*-group, but also in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*.³ The tiger however did not stop here. He adduced further illustrations⁴ to prove the foolishness of apes. On one occasion, he said, a prince and a princess were loitering in a pleasure-garden which was studded with the most exquisite flowers. The ape Garubuh, whom they loved very much, had accompanied them. As the royal couple went to sleep, they asked the monkey to keep watch over them. Now it happened that two green flies, male and female, coached themselves respectively on the neck of the princess and her royal consort. Remembering the orders of the prince, the ape,

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-149.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-151.

3 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 3/2.

4 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-153.

in trying to kill the flies, separated the necks of the sleeping lovers. A Similar story has been related in the *Pañcatantram*¹. It differs from the *Tantri Kāmandaka* on two important points. The scene is shifted to the royal palace and there is no suggestion of the sleeping partner. The name of the monkey again does not occur in the Sanskrit work. The fable has also been incorporated in the *Kediri* recension.

Let us now revert to the original story of the she-ape, the hunter Pāpaka and the tiger.² While the last one was relating these fables, the hunter had re-gained his self-possession. He took his bow and aimed his last arrow on the tiger, who fled away with rapid strides. The hunter then said to the she-ape that he would not be able to go out from the "wood-complex" and would deem it a favour if his female companion led him out of the labyrinth. The she-ape proposed that they should first go to her dwelling-place to take some rest. There they were welcomed by the children of the she-ape, Mārdarva and Mārdavi by name. As they were hungry, their mother went away to procure some fruits. Meanwhile, Pāpaka, cruel by nature, hit upon the plan of roasting the young ones to appease his hunger. To dupe the she-ape, he set fire to the dwelling place and its neighbourhood and quickly dressed the roasted young ones to make a feast over them. The she-ape returned only to see that everything was reduced to ashes. Though she understood the reason of the disappearance of her children, she still complied with the request of the hunter to lead him outside the jungles. At the outskirts of the forest, Pāpaka killed the she-ape, whose soul fled to the heaven of Indra. The writer moralises by saying that the two young ones and their mother went to heaven, while Pāpaka, the hunter, was

1 *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/22.

2 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-161; cf. *IHQ.*, X, p. 109.

thrown beneath the seven-hells, in Vālukārṇava. On the temple-reliefs at Caṇḍi Jago, the theme of the fable has been depicted. Dr. Brandes¹ remarked long ago that the order of scenes in the temple-reliefs is different from that of the *Tantri*. Besides, some new points are noticeable at Caṇḍi Jago. This fable also occurs in the *Demung*-recension. The *Tantri Kediri (B)*, however, replaces it by the story of the Lion and the Camel.

Sambaddha thereupon related the story of a she-goat, Mesa by name, who had saved her life as well as that of her child Wiwingsali, by bluffing a tiger.² It happened that on one occasion, as they were grazing by the side of a mountain, a hungry tiger came to devour them. She scared him by saying that she was accustomed to eat ten tigers and he was but one ! The tiger fled away. On the way he met his friend the monkey. As the latter pressed him to return, the tiger consented on condition that they should be bound together. In this way, they approached the she-goat, who exclaimed that the monkey had brought only one tiger and not more ! The tiger turned back in hot haste and, as he did so, the skull of the ape crashed against the ground and he died ! A similar story is prevalent in Tibet.³ The only differences are that the place of the goats has been occupied by two jackals and the scene has been shifted from the hill-side to the den of the tiger. The monkey and the tiger are common factors, so also are the tricks. There is also a similar Malay story, in which the place of the she-goat has been occupied by a very weak buffalo. As the tiger came, an ape, who was on the back of the buffalo, said, "This tiger's head tastes good !" The following portion of the story is similar to that recorded in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* with the difference that in place of the tiger and the ape, we have here the tiger and the bear. The tragedy of death

1 *Tjandi Djago*, pp. 68-69, photo nos. 71, 72.

2 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-167.

3 O'Connor, *Folk-tales from Tibet*, pp. 78 ff.

was also averted in the case of the latter.¹ The *Kañcil* group of stories, which were widely prevalent among the Javanese, Malayese, Acehnese, Bataks, Filipinos, Dayaks, Cāms, Cambodians, Sangirese, Lampongese,² etc., contain similar stories in which a tiger and an ape, bound together by their own tails, came to a *Weḍus*. The last one admonished the ape for not bringing more than one tiger! As the tiger dashed away, the monkey was smashed to death.³ In a similar Bengali story, a lamb says :—

“Siñher veṭā Bhamboledās,

Sāt sāt bāgh gili ek ek grās.”⁴

[‘I am son of the lion, Bhamboledās by name. I devour seven tigers at a gulp.’] It is not impossible that the fable is based on an Austric kernel, which assumed slightly different forms on account of the migration of Austric groups in various directions. Environment and Time-spirit also may have their toll, but it is clear that the ground-plot of the story is identical in the versions of these far-flung places.

In the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions, this fable has also been preserved. The reliefs at Caṇḍi Mendut and Panataran also depict the outline of this story.⁵

Sambaddha, the indefatigable story-teller, then related the fable of the elephant who destroyed the eggs of the *Siyung*-bird.⁶ The female, mortified at the loss of her eggs, incited her mate to wreck vengeance on the elephant. Among the fly, crow, wood-pecker, frog, etc., who came to console the distressed pair, the crow struck a note of warning regarding the folly

1 I. H. N. Evans, *Studies in Religion, Folk-lore & Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, pp. 273-274.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, VI, II, p. 109.

3 Vide *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXXVII, 1894, pp. 42 ff., 135 ff.; cf. also *Ibid.*, dl. XLII, 1900, p. 383.

4 We do not know if the story has been compiled and published.

5 Brandes, *Tjandi Djago*, pp. 70-71, photo Nos. 65 and 64.

6 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167; cf. also *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn 1/15.

of vengeance. In illustration thereof, he related the story of Indra, who was passionately fond of a peacock.¹ On one occasion Yama, the king of death, came to his court and the peacock, who was frightened by his presence, sought shelter under the throne of Indra. The latter, disgusted by his unmannerly behaviour, cursed him to go to hell. After the death of the bird Indra was mortified for his rashness and tried to re-animate him. But Yama, Kāla, Citragupta, who were approached by the king of gods, described their inability to re-animate the bird. This fable is also related in the *Kediri* and the *Demung* recensions. Ultimately, the well-meaning friends of the *Siyung*-pair suggested that they should resort to tricks by which they would be able to overcome the elephant as Garuḍa was by the tortoises. The woodpecker, whose name appears as Kāṣṭhakūṭa in the *Pañcatantram*, put a query which led to the narration of the following emboxed story. Thus, *Wiyung* related the fable of a race between Garuḍa and the tortoises² who were systematically destroyed by the former. The tortoises scattered themselves in different parts of the sea and when Garuḍa, as usual, asked for food, the captain of the tortoises suggested a race. The latter promised that if they were defeated in the race, their children, grand-children, and their progeny would be his prey for all times to come. Garuḍa agreeing, the race began. After reaching the other side of the sea, he saw that the tortoise had reached there already. This fable has also been related in the *Demung* recension. A fragmentary relief at Caṇḍi Mendut represents a turtle with its head turned upwards, whence Dr. Brandes infers that it may have some connexion with the fable described above. This story is paralleled by that of the *Kañcil* and the *Keyong*.³ The

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-171.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 170-173; cf. *IHQ.*, X, pp. 109 ff.

3 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. XXXVII, 1894, pp. 37-40, 133; cf. also *Ibid.*, dl. XL, pp. 362 ff.; also *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, 1894, pp. 713-714 etc.

tale of the snail and the tiger,¹ which is a proto-type of the *Tantri*-fable, not only occurs among the *Cirus*, a savage tribe to the west of the Manipur Valley in Eastern India, but also among the Mal-Polynesian people. Mr. Scheltema² has noted that the story of *Kañcil* and the snail has travelled to Europe and has been recorded by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm. We can only suspect the story to be of Austric origin.

The frog then entered the field of story-tellers and related the fable of Sand-piper birds who lived near the ocean.³ The male one was called *Supnapada* and his wife was *Priyambadā*. His mate said, "Father of my children, what I do now ? Now I shall lay eggs." She laid her eggs on the sea-shore and they were washed away by the Sea-god. Extremely sorry, they referred the matter to *Garuḍa* who brought it to the notice of *Bhaṭāra Viṣṇu*. Through the mediation of *Janasya*, who was specially appointed for the purpose by *Viṣṇu*, eggs of the Sand-piper birds were returned to them. This story also occurs in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*,⁴ *Pañcatantram*⁵ and the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*.⁶ In none of these works we find any reference to the third mediator, viz., *Janasya*. Besides, the names of birds given in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* are foreign to Sanskrit works mentioned above. The name *Ṭiṭṭibha*, which occurs in Indian recensions, has also been corrupted into *Tinil*⁷ in the Javanese version. This fable has also been recorded in the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions.

1 *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. III, pt. III, pp. 226, 233; also cf. Mrs. Rafy's *Folk-tales of the Khāsis*, 1920, pp. 81-84.

2 *Monumental Java*, 1912, pp. 220-221; cf. also Maxmüller, *Chips from a German workshop*, IV, pp. 145 ff., quoted by Scheltema.

3 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-175.

4 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 2/10.

5 *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/2.

6 Tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 36.

7 In Juynboll's *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 398, the name appears as *tilil*.

The green fly took the cue from the frog and began to narrate the story of the hunter and the Brāhmaṇa.¹ The hunter once noticed that the Brāhmaṇa was enjoying dishes prepared with milk and butter and wanted to know where they came from. Being informed that they came from a cow, he bought her and led her home. As he did not know the process of milching, he addressed the animal, "Look here, Mrs. Cow, please give me milk and butter." Naturally, he obtained nothing. This story is also told in the *Kediri* recension, but not in the *Demung* one.

The woodpecker then related the following story.² He said that on one occasion the bone of a man stuck into the throat of a tiger. The latter lay restless under the tree occupied by him. He brought it out on condition that the tiger would give him the heart of a hare. As the tiger refused to comply with the conditions of the bargain, the woodpecker pecked out his eyes from their sockets.

So the green fly, the woodpecker and the frog, respectively known as Viṇāravā, Kāṣṭhakūṭa and Meghanāda, accompanied by the crow, went to the naughty elephant. One of them made him blind, the other made a wound, while the frog misled him by his croakings. And thus, the elephant was killed.

Sambaddha then related the story of the raven, the snake and the *Kepuh*-tree.³ This fable also occurs in the *Demung* recension, but not in the *Tantri Kediri* (B). It opens with a description of the miserable *Kepuh*-tree, *Śiṣyapa* by name, which stood in splendid isolation in the middle of the land called Śobhā. On account of the molestation of young cowherds, its sprouts and branches could not shoot forth their twigs. A sympathetic pair of crows, of whom the male one was called Nīla and the female one Kak [=Kāk(a)], devised a means to scare away the cowherds. The crow brought in skulls, bones, etc., and hanged up a corpse in the branch of the tree. The cowherds who assembled there next

1 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-177; cf. *IIIQ.*, VII, pp. 518 ff.

2 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-179.

day found out that the place was converted into a cremation-ground and they avoided the place in future. In course of time, the tree grew up in rich foliage and the female crow with the consent of *Śiṣyapa* laid eggs on its branches. The eggs were four in number, including the egg of a cuckoo. The *Kepuh*-tree promised to protect them and thus eggs burst into tiny birds. Now it happened that a snake of the name of *Takṣaka* came there hungry and, convincing the tree of his strength and protective power, persuaded the *Kepuh* to yield him the eggs which he ate. People now avoided that region as men died of snake-bite—panic prevailed among all peoples. *Mangsalya*, the level-headed chief of that region, therefore conferring with a sage set fire to the place and it brought about the ruin of the snake and the *Kepuh*.

Now follows the story of the crow *Byarundi*, who nestled on the branch of a tree with his whole family¹. In a hole at the foot of the tree also lived a snake of the name of *Sitara*. The latter ate up the chicks of the crow and so *Byarundi* sought means of vengeance. On one occasion, he found prince *Viraprāṇa* bathing in a certain place after putting off his ornaments ("bhūṣaṇa"). He swooped upon them and left them just near the hole of the snake. Servants of the prince coming to recover them found out and killed the snake. This fable has not been described in the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions. It occurs however in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*² and the *Pañcatantram*.³

Nandaka then related to *Sambaddha* the fable of the three fishes,⁴ described in the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*⁵, *Pañcatantram*⁶ and the *Hitopadeśaḥ*⁷. In the *Demung* and the *Kediri* recensions, however, this story has not been described. The fable says that in a certain pond lived three fishes.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 186-189.

2 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 2/8.

3 *Pañcatantra*, ed. Kielhorn, 1/6.

4 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-191.

5 Tr. Tawney, Vol. II, p. 37.

6 *Op. cit.*, 1/14.

7 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 4/3.

viz., Anaṅgavidutā, Pradyumnati and Yatbhaviṣyati. As the dry-season appeared, Anaṅgavidutā proposed to set out for a different place and eventually he went away. As fishers came to overhaul fishes, Pradyumnati escaped in the manner described in Sanskrit works, while Yatbhaviṣyati was killed. It is noteworthy that the names have been but slightly corrupted in the Javanese version. In Sanskrit, these names have been spelt as Anāgatavidhātā, Pratyutpannamati and Yadbhaviṣya.¹

Sambaddha then related to the lion the fable of king Aridharma, and the serpent-maiden, who was found enjoying herself with a spotted snake.² While the king was out on hunting, he noticed them and, thinking their union to be a disgraceful case of *Varṇasaṅkara* or mixture of *varṇas*, he killed the snake and slapped the serpent-maiden. Returning home, the latter invented a story to punish the king and this she related to her father, the king of dragons, who entered the royal *kraton* in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa. Assuming his own form, the dragon-king hid himself under the throne of king Aridharma who was talking with his wife Māyāvati. He gathered from the conversation of the royal couple that his daughter had told him lies and so, assuming again the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa, he expressed desire to give a boon to king Aridharma. The latter thus got the power of understanding the language of beasts with the condition that he would not communicate it to any one else on pain of death. On one occasion he laughed after hearing the words of a certain *Cecek*. Being pressed by the queen to explain the reason, he said that he could not relate it till the funeral pyre was set up. When he was there, he heard a conversation between a pair of goats, male and female, who respectively bore the names of Baṅgali and Vivitā. He was convinced from the talk of the he-goat that every desire of women should not

1 Cf. *Bijdragen T. L. F.K.*, 1904, pp. 299-300; *J.R.A.S.*, New Series, XIII, p. 45.

2 Hooykaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-201; cf. *IHQ.*, X, p. 110.

be satisfied. And accordingly, he returned to the *Kraton* without committing himself to the flames¹. This story is also related in the *Kediri* and the *Demung* recensions.

After this, we come to the closing portion of the whole book which describes the fight of the bull and the lion, engineered by the intrigues of the jackal. After their death the lion went to the Viṣṇu-heaven and the bull to the Śiva-heaven. After the death of the jackal, he was thrown into the hells of Vālukārṇava Tāmbrahoghmukha and Yamaniloka, where he must remain for years, ten times the number of hairs on his body.

In the *Cantri*², however, we find stories which are not described in other recensions but are found elsewhere. The beginning of this version agrees with that of other *Tantri* recensions. Then follows the story of Bayan Budiman which furnishes the frame-work of the Malay story-book. The first story told by the peacock was that of the man who gave half of his life to his wife but was rewarded with ingratitude. This fable is also related in some *Kaṇcil*-stories and Malay writings. It also describes the story of a king of Palembang who dreamt of a beautiful princess, the adopted daughter of a white Garuḍa in China. The king sent three of his sons to find her out, but before they could possess the object of their mission, the illegitimate fourth son espoused her after killing the bird.

The Balinese recension is of comparatively modern date, containing Malay, Portuguese and Sasak words. The spellings of proper names are also sometimes different from those of the Javanese recensions.

It would appear from the above review that the *Tantri*-group of stories in Indonesia is based on a folk-lore which is not probably exclusively Indian. Though we cannot find out the exact source of many stories, indications are available to show that some of them might have originated from

1 This story is also narrated in the Malay *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*. Vide *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XLI, pp. 460-461.

2 Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. II, p. 115.

Austrian thought. It is also noteworthy that almost all the Sanskrit fables of the *Tantri* occur in the first book of the *Pañcatantram*. In the *Hitopadeśaḥ*, they are scattered through different parts. Besides, the arrangement of stories of avowed Indian origin in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* is not similar to that of Sanskrit fable-books. It would appear again that so far as religion is concerned, the *Tantri Kāmandaka* is a neutral work. It preaches the efficacy of charms and Tantras on the one hand, and refers to Śivaloka and Viṣṇuloka on the other. In the story of Indra and his beloved peacock, Bhaṭāra appears to be the highest God. We cannot, however, be sure about the religious views of the author, as he possibly relied upon some earlier writer, whose view of religion might have been reflected in the *Tantri Kāmandaka*, which we place c. 1200 A.D.

(B) Other Beast-fables.

Allied to the *Tantri*-group of legends current in Indo-Mal-Polynesia, there are yet some isolated folk-tales of a similar character which we may conveniently group under this heading. From Tibet in the North to Bali in the South-East, some of these stories are widely known and they have been handed down from millennium to millennium through the agency of nursery tales. A certain story of the *Hitopadeśaḥ* which has not been described in the *Tantri Kāmandaka* has been preserved in the *Kaṇḍil*-group. In the Sanskrit work,¹ we read the story of the deer and the crow who lived on friendly terms in the Campakavati-forest of Magadha. An unknown jackal appeared on the scene and induced the deer to graze on the rich harvest of the neighbouring field. The owner of the field who noticed the molestation carefully laid a snare into which the deer was caught. The crow who came afterwards advised him to lay motionless as a dead creature. As soon as the owner of the field pushed away the stag as a carcass, he made good his escape. The missile he threw against the deer struck

1 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 1/3.

the waiting jackal, who breathed his last. In the *Kañcil*-story,¹ the characters of the above fable are the *Kidang*, *Ceplukan* and the ape. The *Kidang*, i.e., the deer spoilt the field of the farmer in every possible manner till the latter was constrained to set a noose, by which the *Kidang* was captured. *Ceplukan*, who plays here the rôle of the above-mentioned crow, advised the deer to pretend death. When the farmer released the snare, the *Kidang* escaped in hot haste. The missile hurled against the latter caused the death of the mischievous ape. In another part of the legend² the same incident has been repeated with the distinction that the part of the ape was played by *Kuwuk*.

There are some other stories paralleled by those of the day-dreamer Alanasker in the *Thousand and One Nights* and by the Brāhmaṇa who broke pots and pans in the *Hitopadeśaḥ* and the *Pañcatantram*. A dealer of *legen*³ (a kind of juice) got upon a tree to gather juice in his bamboo-sheath. As the pot was already full, he thought of selling the juice and getting gold, with the help of which he would carry on business in hens. And this, he thought, would enable him to buy a house. Gradually he felt sleepy and missed his hold only to be killed below. In West Java, this story goes by the name of *Tukang njadap lalamunan*. The story of the mouse and the hermit is also very popular in India. The *Hitopadeśaḥ*⁴ describes how the sage Gautama transformed a young mouse into a stout cat which was again turned into a dog and the dog into a tiger. As the tiger wanted to kill him, the sage transformed him into a dog again. In Java also, there is the story of the porcupine and the hill⁵. As the latter was pierced by the porcupine, the hill wanted to be a porcupine and he became one. As he was in danger of dogs, he was turned into one of them. He

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XXXVII, 1894, pp. 44-45.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 7th Series VI, p. 83.

4 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 4/6.

5 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 7th Series VI, p. 88.

did not like to go a-hunting with his master and so he was made a man. He was now put into the transport service by the *Kampung*-head. After that, he went through the successive stages of *lurah*, *Camat*, *Vadana*, etc. At last, good sense dawned upon him and he determined to revert to his former position, *viz.*, that of a mountain.

Similarly, the story of *Ucing jeung manuk titiran* or the story of the cat and the turtle-dove¹ finds a good parallel in that of the blind vulture, the cat and the birds, which we find narrated in the *Hitopadeśaḥ*.² The Javanese cat is an exact prototype of the Sanskrit *Dirghakarna* and, though the Javanese story-teller does not inform us if he practised the *Cāndrāyaṇa*-rites, he at least performed *tapas* or austerities. The Javanese cat ate the dove after gaining its confidence in the manner of the Indian *Dirghakarna*. There are some other stories of Indonesia which remind us of the *Vānar-endra-jātaḥ*³ in the *Āsiṃsavagga*, the *Kumbhīrajātaḥ*,⁴ the *Śiśumārajātaḥ*,⁵ etc., without their Buddhist traits. The story of the ape and the crocodile in the *Pañcatantram* is also not different from them. It is not easy to say at the present moment if these stories were Mal-Polynesian, or, if they spread to the Far-East through the activities of early Indian colonists.

Of many stories current in Mal-Polynesia belonging to the *Kañcil*-group, we have an interesting story exactly paralleled by one extant in Bengal. The Bengali story describes how a jackal entered into a deadly feud with a crocodile. On one occasion, while the jackal was crossing a river, the crocodile, who was seeking for an opportunity to wreck his vengeance, caught the jackal's leg within his jaws and was about to smash it. The jackal smartly reminded the crocodile that it was merely a stick and not a leg, as he had supposed. When the foolish crocodile loosened his grip, the jackal leaped ashore. Now, sometime afterwards

1 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

2 *Hitopadeśaḥ*, 1/4.

3 *Jātaka*, No. 57.

4 *Jātaka*, No. 224.

5 *Jātaka*, No. 208.

when the crocodile was basking by the side of a river, the jackal was constrained to pass by that way. To know if the crocodile was wide awake, the jackal began to speak aloud, "If the crocodile be alive, he must remain motionless ; if he is dead, as he appears to be, he must move his tail and limbs." The crocodile preferred to show off himself as a dead creature and began to bestir himself. The jackal escaped.

In the *Kañcil*-stories, the part of the jackal was played by *Peucang* and *Kidang* who are noticed in the same rôle in different places.¹ The former, *viz.*, *Peucang*, after escaping the jaws of the crocodile in the manner of the jackal in the Bengali folk-tale, went to sleep in an island which was soon afterwards surrounded by hungry crocodiles. He talked with them and this brought the scattered crocodiles in a file and he escaped by running over their body. *Kidang*, who occupies the place of the above-mentioned *Peucang* in a different place, queried in the manner of the jackal if the body he noticed was that of a crocodile, or, if it was merely a tree-trunk. The following portion is identical with the Bengali folk-tale. It is clear therefore that this Bengali folk-tale, heard even now among untutored villagers, is exactly identical with the second version described above both in names as well as in details. Considering all the points we regard the tale to be a contribution of Bengal, but we retain our doubts about its Austric origin. There are also some stories in which *Rākṣasas* and evil spirits play a prominent rôle. The popularity of the epic literature and superstition of the peoples are probably responsible for their prominence in Indo-Mal-Polynesian folk-tales. The Malay people² still think that when Pitalo Guru (apparently Bhaṭāra Guru) banished evil spirits, for certain reasons, into a forest, they vowed eternal vengeance upon mankind. It is said

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, dl. XLII, 1900, pp. 356 ff; also *Ibid.*, dl. XXXVII, 1894, pp. 39, 48.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. VK.*, 7th Series VI, pp. 439 ff.

that they number 124,000. Their spirits have enveloped Mal-Polynesian thought.

We thus come to the end of our studies on the Indo-Mal-Polynesian folk-literature. When we analyse the class of beasts who appear in the rôle of the main characters of the stories, we find jackals, apes, deer, tigers, crocodiles, elephants, frogs, crows, mice, figuring prominently. The tricks they employ to outwit their opponents are naïve and sometimes humorous. When a petty creature, for example, has to scare away a more powerful animal of superior build, he generally employs three kinds of tricks. By dying the mouth red he produces the impression that beasts of his opponent's species form his usual dish ; by alluring an animal into wells, pits or muddy ponds he escapes, and by exciting the wrath of the foolish beast against some imaginary foe he utilises the opportunity to make good his escape. Other tricks have also been employed, but they are isolated. All these tricks betray the genius of the early story-tellers, some of whom might have lived millenniums ago. The stories seem to indicate again that they then believed everything to be talkative,—trees, stones, ants, birds and all ! They saw round them "brothers and sisters in fur and feather, tame and wild." To them, the world was not cut up into artificial divisions as it has been now. The above characteristics, therefore, demonstrate the existence of a golden thread that binds the countries of South-East Asia in a common relationship.

CHAPTER XVII

INSCRIPTIONS AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE

(A) *Inscriptions*

We have said before that the early inscriptions of Java have been written either in South Indian or in North Indian scripts. It is also noteworthy that in composition, they sometimes betray Indian influences. Almost all the inscriptions of Java, like those of India and her Far-Eastern colonies, open with invocation to various deities or with the words *Oṃ Svasti* or *Siddham*. Then they furnish us with the dates of their composition. To take some instances : a stone inscription of the year 775 Śaka opens with "Svasti Śakavarṣatita 775 Āsādha māsa tithi dvitiya sūklapakṣa tu. pa. ā. wāra—" ¹ etc. Similarly, an inscription of the year 694 not only opens with the invocation, "Oṃ namaśśivāya namo Buddhāya," but also furnishes details of dates, "Svasthā Śrī Sañjaya varsā 694 Posya māsa tithi tritiya kṛṣṇapakṣa..." ² etc." They may be compared, for example, with the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II, ³ which begins with "Siddham || Samvatsare 80 2 Āṣādha-māsa-śukle(ai)kādaśyām ||" The pillar inscription of Goparāja, ⁴ to take another instance, also opens in a similar way. In the Sena inscriptions of Bengal, this is generally to be met with towards the closing portion. The style of writing, whether in Sanskrit or *Kawi*, sometimes reminds one of the style of Indian inscriptions. The stereotyped curse-formulas are, however, distinct features of early Javanese records, which mark them off from Indian inscriptions.

(B) *Historical Literature*

There are some historical works extant in Java. It is difficult to say, however, who taught the Javanese people the science of writing history,—a science, in which the

1 Ed. Brandes-Krom, *O.J.O.*, p. 7.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

3 Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 25.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

Indians themselves were so deficient. Though we cannot be certain, it is possible that the Chinese people imported the science from their own country. Because, during a millennium of Indo-Javanese contact, no historical work was written. It is only during the days of closer contact between Java and China that we first come across Javanese historical writings. It may as well be a fact that the Javanese peoples themselves were responsible for the development of the science. We propose to give here an account, necessarily brief, of the more important historical writings of Java, though our main attention will be devoted to Indian influences on them.

The *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, which engages our attention first, has been described as a work of "unique importance." It has been written in various Indian metres and is divided into ninety-eight cantos. The author of this work was Prapañca who composed it in 1365 A.D. during the reign of Hayam Wuruk, a contemporary of Feroz Tughlak (1351-1388 A.D.). The name of the book appears only on the title page; in another part of the work it has been called *Deśavarṇana*.¹ After a brief notice of Ken Angrok of Tumapel (1104-1147 Śaka),² the account gradually becomes more interesting and informative, particularly from the reign of some of the immediate predecessors of Hayam Wuruk. It was indeed the most brilliant period of Javanese history. The court of Hayam Wuruk was graced by many eminent poets. Prapañca himself says that Paṇḍitas of other lands composed eulogistic poems on His Majesty. The monk Buddhāditya, for example, composed Bhogāvali on him in many ślokas. The Brāhmaṇa Mutali Sahṛdaya also composed an eulogistic poem "in correct ślokas."³ According to Dr. Kern, Mutali is a Tamil term corresponding to Mudeliar of our own days. Among other learned authors we find the names of Bhāmāna and Brahmarāja. Many

1 Cf. *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. LVI, 1914, p. 194.

2 The *Pararaton* gives the date as 1104-1169 Śaka.

3 *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, Canto XCIII, Strophe I.

Paṇḍitas are described as having mastered different Śāstras. There were others again who composed many Ślokas by sitting in company.¹ Prapañca says that he composed some other books as well, viz., *Śākābda*, *Lambang*, *Parvasagara*,² *Bhīṣmaśaraṇa* and *Sugataparva*.³ That his father was also a poet is probably suggested by his statement, "The pleasure created in the poems by me cannot be satisfactorily followed by persons other than poets and sons of poets."⁴ It would appear, therefore, that the reign of Hayam Wuruk forms an epoch in old-Javanese history. Some other important *Kawi*-works were also composed during this reign and we had occasion to describe them in previous chapters.

Prapañca was, like his father, the Dharmādhyakṣa of the country and his remarks on religion necessarily possess high authoritative value. The author not only refers to the Śiva-Buddha cult, but also describes King Hayam Wuruk as an embodiment of this uni-dual deity. He further says that statues of Amoghasiddhi, Akṣobhya and Vairocana were instituted in the royal mausolea.⁵ The King's grandmother, who was like *Parama Bhagavatī*, was zealous in the yoga and meditation on Buddha, which she performed as an old nun in the dress of the spiritual orders.⁶ Traces of Tāntricism are also rampant in the work. Belief in magic is betrayed here and there. The Mahāyānist priest Bharaḍha is not only called Yogīśvara, but also master of the Tāntric lore. He can walk on water and soar in the sky,—a feat described also in the *Pararaton*. Like the *Tantu Panggelaran*, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* also refers to the magic circle or 'maṇḍala.' The use of words like Bajraka, Kabajradharana, Bajrāsana, etc., is also significant. Free monasteries of the regular Buddhist monks have also been

1 *Ibid.*, Strophe 2.

2 It reminded Kern of the *Kathāsaritsāgarah*.

3 *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, Canto XCIV, Strophe 3.

4 *Ibid.*, Canto XVII, Strophe 8.

5 *Ibid.*, Canto XLVIII, Strophe 3; Canto LVI, Strophe 2, etc.

6 *Ibid.*, Canto II, Strophe 1.

mentioned in canto LXXVII. We have previously referred to the *Tantra Subhūti* which was specially studied by King Kṛtanagara (1268-1292 A. D.). Dr. Bosch¹ thinks that this work may be identified with the *Vajracchedikāprajñā-pāramitā*. Another important point mentioned by Prapañca is the *śrāddha*-ceremony of Gāyatrī Devī which was actually held in 1362 A. D. A vivid account of it has been given in cantos LXIII-LXVII.

Let us now note Indian influences on the style of Prapañca. In giving dates, the author, like other Javanese writers, has favoured the use of *Candrasaṅkala*. The work, written in various Indian *chanda*s, has been divided into cantos of unequal size and some descriptions strikingly remind one of their parallels in Sanskrit literature. Thus, at the time of the birth of our poet's patron, "...the thunder rumbled, flashes of lightning pierced the sky, a tumultous uproar arose in the mountain of Kāmpūda.....and the scoundrels and villains were overpowered. It was a positive proof that Bhaṭāra Girinātha took birth in the form of the sovereign."² In Sanskrit works, such things also happen at the time of the birth of an important person³. Flowers are also rained from heaven and gods blow conch-shells in applause.

We now pass over to the *Pararaton* (Ken Angrok) or the Book of the Kings of Tumapel and Majapahit. From the colophon of MSS. C and B, it appears that the work was extant in the beginning of the 16th Śaka century. From internal evidences, it appears that the last mentioned facts do not go before the 15th Śaka century.⁴ Its chronicle-form demonstrates the text to have been composed off and on. It is probable therefore that the work was composed in the last part of the Majapahit period⁵, c. 1278-1478 A. D.

1 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. V.K.*, dl. LXI, pp. 257 ff.

2 *Nāgarakṛtāyama*, Canto I. Strophe 4.

3 Cf. *Khila Harivamśa*, Chap. 59.

4 The last mentioned year in the *Pararaton* corresponds to 1481 A.D.

5 Ed. Brandes-Krom, *Pararaton*, Inleiding, p. 5.

Some portions of the book may be still younger. It has been written in prose and the language may be described as Middle-Javanese. The whole work is divided into eighteen chapters. The first part opens with the well-known Indian formula, "om avighnam astu namas siddham." This section of the work is extremely legendary and the anonymous author (or authors) has given a vivid description of the romantic or rather grotesque adventures of the future king. He was the offspring of his married mother's dalliance with god Brahmā who met her on the field. He has been described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The more historical parts begin from where Ken Angrok, after removing from his way Tunggul ametung, the *akuwu* of Tumapel, married his widow Ken Deḍes and became the chief of Tumapel. He is the first king of the dynasty of Singhasari and hence, the founder of the royal house of Majapahit. From this period, the work sometimes becomes surprisingly accurate, though episodes like those of the *Kris* invite scepticism on the part of the critical student. Dr. Krom¹ suggests therefore that the writer of the *Pararaton* relied on some chronicles on the one hand and some story-complex on the other. It is also noteworthy that some portions of this work, when controlled with the help of inscriptions and Chinese notices, are found to be unsatisfactory. Indeed, the legendary part of the *Pararaton* comes into a prominent relief only when one compares it with the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*.

These are the two books which may, with some justice, be dubbed historical works. The Library of the University of Leiden possesses a large number of works which are partly chronicles and partly historical romances. The literary form in which these romances or traditions have been couched goes by the name of Kidung,—a literary genre that is distinct from Kakawins. Dr. Berg² thinks that

1 *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 23.

2 C. C. Berg, *De middeljavaansche historische traditie*, 1927, pp. 8-9.

the writers of these historical poems might have twisted historical themes for romantic effect. And in illustration thereof, he refers to the *Kidung Sunda*, whose last part describes how Ayam Wuruk (Hayam Wuruk) died of sorrow because he was responsible for the death of his beloved, the princess of Sunda.¹ Though the author probably incorporated current traditions on the subject, stories of such description are really "great historical nonsenses." It is noteworthy, however, that the Middle-Javanese 'historical' traditions yield some new data which we do not find in the above two historical works. To take some instances: the *Usana Java* (whole first part), the *Pamañcangah* and recension A of the *Kidung Sunda* concur in describing an expedition of Gajah Mada to Bali, but we do not find this in the *Pararaton*. Similarly, the *Pamañcangah* gives an account of a royal conference called by Ayam Wuruk (Hayam Wuruk) at Majapahit after the death of Gajah Mada, but this has not been mentioned in the *Pararaton*.² If such notices cannot be controlled with the help of inscriptions and other trustworthy evidence, it is natural for us to be sceptical about their authenticity.

The word *Pamañcangah* means '*Babads*', to use a modern Javanese translation of the term. It is no proper name and it signifies 'historical works in general.' Friederich³ refers to a certain *Pamendanga*,⁴ which Berg thinks to be identical with Cod. 4361 of the *Pamañcangah*. The former scholar described it as a sort of chronicle of more recent times containing confused history of priests and kings, of the division of Bali amongst the original *Punggawas* of Gelgel and genealogy of kings, of Karang-Asem, for example. Prof. Berg says however that the

1 Cf. this point with the *Pararaton*, Chap. X, p. 157, ed. Brandes-Krom.

2 O. C. Berg. *op. cit.*, p. 11.

3 Voorloopig verslag van het eiland Bali, p. 22. Vide *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XXII, No. 5.

4 Read *Pamañcangah*.

description of this work by Friederich and Juynboll is either misleading or one-sided.¹ It begins with the usual formula, *Avighnam astu*. The work is divided into chapters. It gives an account of the establishment of a Javanese colony from Majapahit in Bali up to the fall of Gelgel and the rise of Klungkung. *Cod.* 5058 (1) of this work speaks on the genealogy of the dynasty of Pakapisan. The list of descendants of Nirartha is described in *Cod.* 5243. There are other *Pamañcangahs* dealing with local history.

The title *Usana Java*, or the ancient history of Java, is a misnomer. This book has been described by Friederich² as a work relating to the conquest of Bali by the Javanese of Majapahit. The king of Vilvatikta, i.e., Majapahit sent his brother Arya Damar and his *patih* Gajah Mada for the conquest of that island.³ The work then narrates the settling of Deva Agung in Gelgel with an account of the division of lands amongst the nobles of the court. In places, it is legendary. The *Usana Bali*,⁴ which, according to a certain writer, shows partiality for the dynasty of Arya Damar, has been described by Friederich as a work exclusively intended for the people, and not esteemed by the priests. The subject of the Middle-Javanese historical romance *Rangga Lawe* was described by Raffles⁵ long ago. The poem is called *Pañji Vijayakrama* in Mss. It narrates the war between Daha and Tumapel, the foundation of Majapahit by Raden Vijaya, the revolution of his trusted officer Rangga Lawe and so on. As Chinese annals give detailed accounts

1 *Vide* Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22; also *Verhand. Bat. Genoot.*, dl. XXIII, pp. 24-25.

3 Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 388.

4 *Tijdschrift V. Ned.-Indië*, jr. IX, dl. III, pp. 245-273, particularly pp. 277-278; Juynboll, *op. cit.*, pp. 385 ff.

5 Raffles, *History of Java*, Vol. II, 1830, pp. 112 ff.; also Friederich, *op. cit.*, dl. XXII, p. 21; *Bijdragen T. J.* VK., 1877, p. 145; *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 575; Juynboll, *op. cit.*, dl. I, pp. 255 ff etc; *Rangga Lawe*, ed. C. C. Berg, *Bibliotheca Javanica*, No. 1.

of this period, we have here a unique opportunity of assessing the real value of this historical romance. This work has to be placed in 1465 śaka, i.e., 1543 A.D. According to Dr. Brandes,¹ it is more important from the literary point of view than from the standpoint of history. Its contents run parallel to chapters V, VI, VII and the beginning of the VIIIth chapter of the *Pararaton*.

The *Kidung Sunda*² is also a historical romance describing the journey of the Sundanese royal family to Majapahit for performing the marriage ceremony of the Sundanese princess with Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit. Due to differences of opinion regarding the relation of Sunda and Majapahit (1349-1357 A. D.) war broke out between the two powers and it resulted in the destruction of the Sundanese at Bubat. As regards the date of this work, we have no positive information. Gun-fire has no doubt been mentioned, but Dr. Berg³ thinks this to be no proof of the late origin of the work. Recension B of this work appears to be younger than the *Rangga Lawe*, because in it (2/139) the horse of Patih Anepaken has been compared with the horse Anda Wesi of Ranga Lawe. As the date of the romance *Rangga Lawe* falls in 1465 Śaka, recension B should be of about 1550 A. D., or a little later. It has been supposed, however, that the tradition is older than 1550 A.D.

We had occasion to state elsewhere that some *Kawi*-works were composed not long after the date of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* which falls in 1365 A. D. After this, darkness falls on Indo-Javanese literary history from c. 1378 to c. 1525 A.D. Owing to political turmoils in Java, Bali assumes predominance during this period and, along with this, the centre of literary activity shifts from Java to this island. This became the cradle of Middle-Javanese Literature of the *Kidung*-class. Though *Kidung* literature

1 Brandes-Krom, *Pararaton*, p. 137; C. C. Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

2 *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, dl. 83, 1927, pp. 1-161; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. en Mad. Hss.*, dl. 1, p. 234.

3 *Bijdragen T. L. V.K.*, dl. 83, 1927, p. 5.

was not unknown in Java, it found a more welcome home in the island of Bali. The radiating centre was Gelgel, which occupied the position Majapahit had lost. The story of the shifting of literary activity is probably typified in the story of the *Pamañcangah*¹ regarding Nirartha who is considered as the forefather of the Balinese priests. He came from Majapahit to Pasuruhan *via* Daha and thence to the island of Bali after halting at Blangbangan. Invited to Gelgel by its king Batu-Renggong, he settled in a cloister and began to compose books. His work *Sarakusuma* was written as an answer to the poem *Smarārcana*.² At least fourteen works stand against the name of Talāga, the son of Nirartha.³ His son obtained a great name as a poet, philosopher and judge. It has also been recorded that he was versed in *Tarka-vyākaraṇa*. As Nirartha came to Bali c. 1550 A.D.,⁴ literary activity continued at least from this period onwards. Indeed, the family of Nirartha had a great share in the development of Balinese literature between 1550-1600 A.D.

The *Rangga Lawe*, the *Kidung Sunda (B)*, the two prose *Usanas* and some other works were composed in Bali and, as such, they had no direct connexion with the Javanese historical tradition, which filtered in through Javanese colonists of Bali in the palmy days of Majapahit. It is therefore natural that the above-mentioned works, though they handle subjects described in the middle portions of the *Pararaton*, differ on important points from the latter. It has been supposed that these discordances are due to poetical fancy. The historical or semi-historical portions of these romances are, therefore, the result of an effort to synthesise Javanese traditions of the epoch of Hayam Wuruk, of the immigrants in Bali and their forefathers in Majapahit.⁵

On the New-Javanese historical works, *viz.*, the *Babads* and the *Sajarahs*, confusion of fact and fancy has wrought its worst havoc. The reconstruction of Indo-Javanese history

1 C. C. Berg, *De Middelljavuansche Historische traditie*, p. 20.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 28

3 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

after the 17th century A.D. progressed in a wrong channel and we have frequently the very reverse of truth parading like genuine history. The usual explanations of this phenomenon are the following :—

(a) Political turmoil, which continued, off and on, from the fall of Majapahit to the second half of the 18th century A. D., (b) the penetration of Islam which broke the continuity of old history, (c) the confusion in old literature which was little understood, (d) the influence of written and oral tradition on each other, (e) the incompetence of later compilers and lastly, (f) the anxiety of the post-Majapahit kings to be included in the lists of Solar and Lunar dynasties.

These works which we may call 'historical' only by grace may broadly be divided into two parts, the first part describing the traditions of older times, the second part dealing with the period after the introduction of Islam. In some works much heterogenous matter has been mixed up. For example, the *Pustaka raja purva*, one of the works of Ranga Varsista, who was court-poet of Pakubuvana VII (1850-1858 A.D.), not only incorporates materials from the *Mahābhārata-Rāmāyaṇa-purāṇa*, but also from the *Kaṇcil*-group of stories.¹ In the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, again, we find in the royal list Arjuna and his forefathers who are prominent figures in the *Mahābhārata*. Śiva and Brahmā also appear as the forefathers of the Javanese. Thus, Indian and Mal-Polynesian mythology, mixed up with historical traditions preserved in the romantic literature, fabricated and genuine stories, sometimes intermingled with cosmogonical fragments from works like the *Manik Maya*—have produced this hodge-podge of a chronicle which is anything but true history. It must not be understood, however, that all compositions are couched in the above spirit. Dr. Hazeu² says that the

1 Hosein Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten*, 1913, pp. 279, 290, 298, 300.

2 G. A. J. Hazen, *Oud en Nieuw uit de Javaansche Letterkunde*, 1921, p. 3.

portions which contain Java's modern history (from c. 17th century onwards) may be dubbed really historical.

The titles of these *Babads* are suggestive of the period they describe. The *Babad Besuki*, *Babad Bandavasa*, *Babad Balambangan*, *Babad Madura*, *Babad Janggala*, *Babad Majapahit*, *Babad Mataram* are instances in point. *Babad Dipanegara* was composed by an exiled king and it gives a resume of Java's older history. *Babad Palihan negari* begins with the foundation of Surakarta and ends with Mangkunegara's accounts (recension of Yasadipura). Similarly, *Babad bedah Ngayogya* offers details of the history of Yogya up to the storming of the *Kraton* by the English.¹ On many of these *Babads*, the influence of Islam, as is natural, has been greatly projected. In the *Babad Tanah Jawi*, for example, we find Adam as the forefather of the Javanese kings. The history of the Prophet and the adventures of some heroes are reflexes from Muslim tradition. Dr. Djajadiningrat² refers to the story of Jaka Boḍo, where traditions of Mahammad have left unmistakable traces. Though the *Pustaka raja purwa* and other books of that category pretend to give the history of Java from year 1 onwards, they betray, in many cases, no rational chronological idea. It is not difficult to prove that names of countries and persons have been confused and wrong dates have been given in many cases.

Now, these traditions regarding Java's older history originated from the laboratory of Mataram, probably in the beginning of the 17th century A. D.³ Many stories were earlier canonised and they occur in a similar way in different *Babads*. All these works are in sharp contrast with the pre-Muslim Javanese historical works which, though containing

1 Cf. *Paruraton*, pp. 206-211, ed. Brandes-Krom. Literature on these works is mentioned in *Ibid.*, p. 206.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 298; cf. also Schrieke, *Het Boek van Bonang*, 1916, pp. 48-55.

3 Cf. Hosein Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, p. 303; also, N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, p. 25.

fabulous anecdotes of the type of the legends of Ken Angrok, do not incorporate heroes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the genealogical table of the Javanese kings. It is curious that the Mahammadan writers, who were better historians than the Hindus, have equally jumbled up fact and fiction without any regard to the canons of historical criticism.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

70 We thus come to the end of our survey of Indo-Javanese literature, which almost suddenly springs into existence, like Minerva, armed at different points. Though Sanskrit synonyms with short explanations in Old-Javanese and other cognate literature appear to date from about 778 A. D., literature proper does not come to our view before the end of the 10th century A. D. From that time up to the 15th century A. D., the stream of literary enterprise runs vigorously. Most of the works of this period belong to the class of Epic literature. Though they do not contribute much to the quota of world-literature, they have yet some value from the view-point of India's contribution. Artificial in many respects, they yet throw some side-lights on Indian culture and history. While reading these *Kawi*-works, one seems to think that he is reading an Indian work in one of the great provincial languages. Sanskrit words and verses scattered throughout the work sustain this impression. The real value, then, of these works is that they afford us an opportunity to control the statements of some Indian works and enable us to follow, more or less closely, the process of transformation of Indian culture as it leaves India's shores. It must be said, however, to the credit of Javanese authors that though they have developed mainly an artificial translation-literature, they have sometimes handled them in a refreshingly original manner. A tinge of sexuality has, however, marred much of its beauty. But it is also sublime in its spiritual appeal, and both these traits were probably harmonised in the Indo-Javanese period.

4 Javanese literature has its shortcomings too. The drama and the lyrical poetry, to judge by the extant works, have not engaged the attention of the Old-Javanese authors. Some branches of science again were in an embryonic stage of development. In other forms of literary

composition, e.g., texts on erotic, music, animals, birds, etc., Javanese authors betrayed commendable capacity and varied interests in the practical problems of life. Unfortunately our knowledge of Old-Javanese language and literature is not sufficient and the contour is hazy in many respects. The extant remains are still among the grandest treasures that any nation may bequeath to posterity without feeling any shame and diffidence. For all these we must hail across the ages Indian sailors and teachers who raised the "population to a comparatively high and permanent civilisation and made Java what Marco Polo found it 'une ysle de mout grant richesse'—a character that it still has."¹

¹ *The Academy*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 239.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

- P 4 Doubts were entertained¹ about the exact significance of the *Candrasaṅkala* expressed in *Samoe-dra-ananggoeng-bhoemi*. It was taken to mean 144 Śaka. But Prof. Krom writes that the middle number will be 2 and not 4, as the figure under the *Saṅkala*-year in Nāg. MS. indicates.
- P. 5 As Kombeng images of Borneo do not belong to the school of Indo-Javanese art, some are inclined to believe that there was a direct stream of immigration from Southern India. This is not however admissible on the following grounds: (a) dissimilar contemporary images have not yet been discovered in Java to negative the theory of immigration *via* Java, (b) Kombeng images may belong to Post-Indo-Javanese art; this will account for their difference from the products of Indo-Javanese art, (c) they cannot be old for being found in an old cave.
- P. 6 fn. 1 The disputed line is *Śrīmatkuñjaraḥ kuñjadesānīhitavaṃśāditivādhyatam*. Kern² did not properly consider the word *iva*, i. e., 'as it were' and this necessarily led him to a far-fetched conclusion.
- P. 19 According to Prof. Krom Old-Javanese language is not a mixture of Hindu and Indonesian languages, but an Indonesian language borrowing Hindu terms.
- P. 28 Since this was written, we have received the excellent edition of the Old-Javanese *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* by Dr. Gonda, published in the Bibliotheca Javanica Series.
- P. 91 Dr. Poerbatjaraka has also recently published an edition of the *Nītiśāstra* in the same series.

1 *Djawa* I, 1921, pp. 188 ff.

2 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, dl. VII, p. 122.

P. 95 In Art. 121 of the *Kuṭāramānava*, the origin of the *Kuṭāra-śāstra* has been traced to Bhṛgu and Paraśurāma. Prof. Majumdar says that the *Kuṭāramānava* indeed betrays the influence of Bhṛgu and Nārada. These references are interesting in as much as the works of Bhṛgu and Nārada were also known in Campā.¹ In the work some passages from the Sanskrit text have been translated twice. Articles 211 and 261 which respectively mention *Pañcasādhāraṇa* and *Jivadāna* have been borrowed from Sanskrit texts. *Vākcapala* and *Hastacapala* which crop up abundantly in Old-Javanese inscriptions are the same as *Vākṣpāruṣya* and *Daṇḍapāruṣya* of ancient Indian jurists. Articles 66 and 67 describe the "blood-price." In the sphere of criminal law the *Kuṭāramānava* widely differs from Indian codes. It expressly states that the king is the owner of the land, and handles regulations regarding slaves.

P. 112. This Sanskrit-*ṛawi* dictionary is also known as *Amaramālā* which forms the middle-piece of the MS. called *Candaḥkaraṇa*, wrongly named *Candaḥkaraṇa* by Juynboll.

The major portion of the work has been written in a comparatively young language. It was composed under the patronage of king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty, but he is not known from any other source. Prof. Krom places this work between c.750 and 850 A.D.²

P. 164 f. Dates in these legends, though hopelessly confused in the hands of Post-Majapahit compilers, refer to some era current up to the Singhasari period. As some of these dates exactly tally with those deduced from inscriptions, this goes a long way to

1 R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 199.

2 *Over het Sivaïsme van Midden-Java*, 1924, p. 5.

establish the existence of an era. As Old-Javanese literature is mainly a religious one and as the two historical works, the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton*, deal with Java's later history, our authority is necessarily a late one. But our hypothesis receives some confirmation from the early *Kawi*-epigraphy of Java which, according to Dr. Brandes,¹ shows remarkable affinity with the alphabets of the *Girṇār* inscription. Prof. Krom² has recently pointed out some differences also but it has to be remembered that the earliest dated *Kawi*-record of Java is several centuries later than the *Girṇār* inscription and the variations noted by Dr. Krom may as well be due to diverse factors in the history of Indo-Javanese script-evolution.

P. 167, fn. 1. The year of Airlangga's birth can be deduced from the inscription of Surabaya, dated 963 Śaka. In lines 6-7 we find *Śakaḥkāla 929, sḍang wālaka śrī mahārāja iriḱāṅg kāla, prasiddha namblas tahun wayah nira*,³ which explicitly states that in 929 Śaka he was sixteen years old. As Brandes⁴ reads the year as 939, it gave rise to a difference of ten years.

P. 172 Modern scholarship is tending towards placing Lang-ga or Lang-ga-su in the Isthmus of Ligor, though this is not yet finally settled.⁵

P. 174 Though Dr. Poerbatjaraka⁶ has written that Yogīśvara knew Sanskrit and was thoroughly acquainted

1 *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie*, vol. III, 2nd ed., p. 190.

2 *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, pp. 135 ff.

3 Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, dl. VII, p. 104.

4 *O.J.O.*, p. 137, inser. no. LXII.

5 Cf. *J.A.*, II-X, (1918). pp. 134 ff.; *Bijdragen T.L. VK.*, 1921, dl. LXXVII, pp. 89 ff.

6 *Tijdschrift V. I. T. L. VK.*, 1932, dl. LXXII, pp. 168 ff.

with the work of Vālmiki, this is extremely doubtful. If the Sanskrit epic lay before Yogīśvara, it was natural that he should borrow some words, consciously or unconsciously, from the Skt. masterpiece. After comparing the Old-Javanese text¹ with relevant portions of the Skt. *Rām.*, we find that not a single Skt. word from the latter occurs in corresponding passages of the Old-Javanese text. It is noteworthy, however, that some portions of Yogīśvara's work are almost an exact echo of the text of Vālmiki. Thus str. 1 and str. 7 as given by Kern may be compared with chap. 46, ślokaś 3-4, 29-32 in relevant portions of the Skt. text. The conclusion of Dr. Poerbatjaraka, based on unconvincing arguments, is not therefore acceptable.

P. 194 *Sargas XXI-XXIII* of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* have since been published in the *Bijdragen T. L. V.*, dl. 90, pp. 301 ff., and dl. 92, pp. 123 ff.

P. 234 The Old-Javanese *Ādiparva* clearly states ".....
Pangājñā śrī Dharmmavarṇśa tēguh Anantaviṭṭramo-
ttuṅgadeva prabhu pinagawayakèn prākṛta parva...."²
which shows that the work was undertaken by orders of that king. As Prof. Kern³ identified this king with Airlangga whom we now know as the son-in-law of the former, the earlier opinion should be given up.

1 Vide Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, dl. IX, p. 254.

2 Juynboll, *Adiparva*, 1906, pp. 1-2.

3 *Verspreide Geschriften*, dl. IX, p. 222.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Abbreviations: P.=page; f.n.=footnote; *a*=counted from above,
b=counted from below; l.=line.

P. 6, f. n. 1,	<i>for</i>	Inleiding, vol. I,	<i>read</i>	Geschiedenis, ¹ p. 99	q. 121
P. 10, l. 7 <i>b</i>	„	replaced	„	partly dispossessed of its dominions	
P. 11, l. 7 <i>b</i>	„	efore	„	Before	
P. 12, l. 16 <i>a</i>	„	was	„	though current till now was generally	
P. 13, l. 9 <i>a</i>	„	be t	„	best	
P. 13, l. 17 <i>a</i>	<i>add</i>	,	<i>after</i>	Krama	
P. 14, l. 10 <i>a</i>	<i>replace</i>	,	<i>after</i>	referred	
P. 18, l. 13 <i>b</i>	<i>add</i>	and other suc- ceeding inscriptions	„	Java	
P. 20, l. 7 <i>a</i>	<i>for</i>	pre-Kautilīya	<i>read</i>	Pre-Kauṭīliya	
P. 20, l. 12 <i>a</i>	„	Java ese	„	Japanese	
P. 23, l. 1 <i>a</i>	„	India of	„	of India	
P. 28, f. n. 1	„	Cenoot.,	„	Genoot.,	
P. 33, l. 9 <i>b</i>	„	Kalayaranān- taka	„	Kālaya- vanāntaka	
„ „	„	seem to	„	might	
P. 39, l. 10 <i>a</i>	<i>delete</i>	,	<i>after</i>	pañca°	
P. 48, f. n. 2	<i>for</i>	Gruenwedel	<i>read</i>	Grünwedel	
P. 50, l. 5 <i>b</i>	„	Hirñ=maye	„	Hiraṃmaye	
P. 51, l. 7 <i>a</i>	„	is	„	are	
P. 51, l. 20 <i>a</i>	„	a Buddhistic	„	an anti- Buddhistic	
P. 68, l. 4 <i>b</i>	<i>add</i>	of prayer	<i>after</i>	spirit	
P. 74,	<i>delete</i>	f. n. 1 and re- place here	Suppl. etc., given above		

P. 78, l. 8 b	for	Crawford	read	Crawford
P. 79, l. 12 a	,,	,,	,,	,,
P. 90, l. 6 a	,,	t ok	,,	took
P. 95, l. 2 b	add	.	before	Dr.
P. 122, l. 9 b	for	Jogīśvara	read	Yogīśvara
P. 126, f. n. 8	,,	liked	,,	knew
P. 131, l. 14 b	add	,	after	regrettable
P. 131, l. 5 b	for	.	place	,
P. 135, l. 11 a	add	.	after	arrival
P. 137, l. 14 b	replace	,,	after	days
P. 137, f. ns. 4, 5,	for	Suppl.	read	Suppl.
P. 138, l. 12 a	add	.	after	years
P. 138, l. 4 b	for	Monaguna	read	Monaguna
P. 141, l. 6 a	,,	Anggastyaparva	,,	Agastyaparva
P. 143, l. 2 a	delete	.	after	island
P. 143, l. 22 a	add	.	after	Java
P. 143, l. 23 a	delete	.	,,	on
P. 145, f. n. 1,	for	Poerbatijaraka	read	Poerbatjaraka
P. 149, l. 10 a	,,	only	,,	mainly
P. 154, f. n. 2, l. 3	,,	pp.	,,	p.
P. 160, l. 3 b	,,	tne	,,	the
P. 163, f. n. 4.	,,	Hastina	,,	Hastinā
P. 167, l. 1 b	add	almost	before	to
P. 170, f. n. 3,	for	,,	place	,
P. 172, l. 11 b	add	possibly	before	known
P. 186, l. 1 b	for	he	read	the
P. 197, l. 10 a	replace	and	after	(Viṣṇu)
P. 204, f. n. 1,	place	,	for	.(before however
P. 214, l. 11 b	for	tthe	read	the
P. 218, l. 3 a	,,	Sugrīva	,,	Sugrīva
P. 221, l. 11 b	add	.	after	Nila
P. 224, sub- heading,	for	IN	read	IN
P. 226, l. 4 b	,,	Sāstraprabhu	,,	Sāstraprabhu
P. 227, l. 8 a	,,	A. D,	,,	A. D.
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P. 229, l. 4 a	,,	n	,,	in

P. 229, l. 8 a	for	o	read	of
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P. 234, l. 1 b	add	dubiously	before	mentions
P. 235, f. n. 1	,,	<i>cf. also</i>	after	1
P. 238, l. 2 a	for	va	read	vaḥ
P. 257, l. 13 b	,,	Papyumna	,,	Prajumna
P. 270, l. 4 a	,,	Supravā	,,	Suprabhā
P. 271, f. n. 8	for	ff,	read	ff.
P. 272, folio- heading	,,	MAHABHĀTA	,,	MAHABHĀRATA
P. 281, f. n. 4,	,,	,Bat,	,,	.Bat.
P. 285, f. n. 2,	,,	Baiin	,,	Balin
P. 286, l. 12 a	,,	ifself	,,	itself
P. 287, l. 13 a	add	possibly	after	has
P. 288, l. 3 a	for	shwon	read	shown
P. 293, l. 9 a	,,	da	,,	dā
P. 293, l. 10 a	,,	Ka	,,	Kā
P. 295, f. n. 2	,,	Het	,,	Het
P. 297, l. 1 a	add	upon	before	the Mahābhārata
P. 303, l. 13 b	for	Sāka	read	Saka
P. 320, l. 14 a	delete	,	after	some
P. 327, l. 11 b	for	Bhumāntaka	read	Bhaumāntaka
P. 327, l. 1 b	,,	Bhaūma	,,	Bhauma
P. 336, f. n. 4	delete	,		
P. 348, l. 8 a	for	befere	,,	before
P. 355, l. 13 b	,,	patrons	,,	patterns
P. 358, l. 10 b	add	(	before	Tantri
P. 359, f. n. 4	delete			
P. 368, l. 1 b	add	,	,,	the
P. 375, l. 11 b	delete	3	upon	tree.
P. 390, l. 2 a	delete	.	after	formula
P. 390, f. n. 3	for	pp.	read	p.

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